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MARRIAGES

OF

THE BONAPARTES

VOL. II.

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THE MARRIAGES

OF

THE BONAPARTES

BY

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AUTHOR OF 'THE SIEGE OF PARIS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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THE

MARRIAGES OF THE BONAPARTES

(CONTINUED)

VIII.

LUCIEN.

LUCIEN, the third son of Charles and Lætitia Bonaparte, was born at Ajaccio in 1775, and left his native isle with the rest of his family. Before he was twenty years of age he obtained employment as commissary to the army, and was for some time quartered at St. Maximin, where he exhibited himself in the light of a violent Republican, quickly gaining the position of leading orator of his district, and displacing an ex-monk who had assumed the name of Epaminondas. Lucien himself, after the fashion of the day, not only adopted the cognomen of Brutus, but changed St. Maximin into St. Marathon![1] While perorating at his village club and attending to his administrative duties, he wooed and won Christine Elenore Boyer, the daughter of a well-to-do innkeeper, and the young couple were speedily married. This wedding was celebrated in 1794, when Lucien was only eighteen years old; a year before Napoleon became famous by

[1] In 1814 Napoleon, passing through this same town of St. Maximin, on his way to Elba, and in danger of being torn to pieces, sent for the prefect and said, 'You should blush to see me obliged to assume the Austrian uniform in order to shelter myself from the insults of the Provençals, a wicked race of men, who committed all sorts of horrors and crimes during the Revolution, but who behaved as cowards when it came to fighting.'

saving the Directory. By all accounts Christine Bonaparte was a lovely and virtuous woman. Joseph received his brother and his wife, and so did Madame Permon, who was used to the best society. The Duchess d'Abrantes speaks of the lady in the most rapturous terms, saying, 'when Lucien made his strange match with Mdlle. Boyer, my mother received her like a daughter, and was the first to discover an angel under the form of a woman.'

In 1797 Lucien, on the demand of Napoleon, was ordered to leave the army of the Rhine, and to return to Corsica. From Ajaccio, his wife, who had just been brought to bed with a third child, wrote the following touching appeal to Napoleon :—

Allow me to call you brother. My first child was born at a moment when you were irritated with us. I wish she could caress you in order to indemnify you for the annoyance caused by my marriage. My second child was still-born. Flying from Paris in obedience to your order, I had a miscarriage in Germany. In a month's time I hope to give you a nephew. I promise you to make a soldier of him. I hope he will bear your name, and that you will consent to stand godfather. I trust that you will not refuse this to your sister. . . You will not despise us because we are poor; for, after all, you are our brother; my children are your only nephews, and we love you better than fortune. I hope one day to be able to give you proofs of my tenderness.

Your very affectionate Sister,
CHRISTINE BONAPARTE.

P.S.—I beg you will remember me to your wife, whose acquaintance I am anxious to make. At Paris I was told that I greatly resembled her. If you recollect my features you should be able to judge.

C. B.

There is no trace of any reply having been sent to this letter. Poor Madame Lucien did not give birth to a son, but to a daughter, who came into the world while Napoleon was at Cairo, and who received the names of Christine Egypta. Of an elder daughter, Charlotte, born in 1796, we shall have much to say hereafter.

Alas! Lucien's beautiful and attractive wife survived the birth of her second daughter only two years. She died deeply regretted by her husband, who had her buried at his château of Plessis Chamant, in the lovely Touraine country, and raised a handsome monument in white marble to her memory.

On the fall of Robespierre Lucien had been thrown into prison as a Terrorist, and had narrowly escaped suffering for the zeal with which he had espoused the extreme opinions of the Convention. After passing several days and nights in a cell damp with the blood of previous victims, he was released. Shortly afterwards we find him sitting in the Council of Five Hundred, and defending the existing order of things with great fluency of speech and sound arguments. He played a very prominent part during his brother's absence in Egypt, urged him to return to France at the critical moment, and exhibited wonderful coolness and courage on the 18th Brumaire, when Napoleon seized the supreme power. In fact, but for the manner in which the young General was seconded by Lucien, who had thrown his Jacobin notions overboard, we should probably have heard little more of the Bonapartes.

When Napoleon, thanks to "the eloquence and

energy of his brother, became First Consul, Lucien was appointed Minister of the Interior; but in 1801 he was replaced by Chaptal and sent as ambassador to Madrid. The idea was that this was a kind of honourable exile; that Napoleon was jealous of the popularity of Lucien, and annoyed at being frequently reminded of the eminent services he had rendered him. According to some authors, Lucien was sent to Madrid for having written a pamphlet entitled 'Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, Monk, and Bonaparte.' Another version was that Fontannes was the author of the pamphlet, and that Lucien had merely connived at its circulation. However this may be, it is certain that the pamphlet in question, which attacked military government, gave great offence to the First Consul, and fairly represented the ideas of Lucien. Again, serious complaints appear to have been made with regard to the purity of Lucien's private life, and also that of his administration. According to Miot de Melito, Fouché, in the presence of Napoleon, accused him of having embezzled the public money, and of indulging in orgies with actresses, and especially with a Mdlle. Mezerai. 'The consequence was,' adds the Count, 'that he was removed from his post as Minister of the Interior, and sent, without any well-defined object, to Madrid, where he managed to extort immense riches from the weakness and pusillanimity of the Queen of Spain and her favourite, Don Manuel Godoi, to whom he sold peace.' Madame de Rémusat alludes to Lucien's conduct in Paris as 'something worse than immorality,' and declares that he received in Spain 'the fabulous sum

of 500,000,000 francs (20,000,000*l.*) in money and diamonds.' The fact appears to be that he received a present of 5,000,000 francs in the shape of diamonds arranged in such a manner as to form the frame of the king's portrait, life size; and this was not too much for signing the treaty of Badajoz. On a previous occasion Charles IV., who was a cobbler as well as a king, had with great ceremony presented the French ambassador with a pair of shoes made by himself. As for the assertion that Lucien was despatched to Madrid, where he replaced Berthier, without any positive instructions, that appears exceedingly doubtful. He was probably directed to instigate a war between England and Spain, and to bring about the partition of Portugal—to continue, in fact, the work of his predecessor. Madame de Rémusat mentions another matter of interest in connection with Lucien's mission. She says that at this epoch there was a question of the First Consul marrying an Infanta of Spain; 'but Napoleon, either through affection for his wife, or fearing to render himself suspicious in the eyes of the Republicans, with whom he desired to remain on good terms, renounced the idea of this marriage, which was to have been arranged under the auspices of the Prince of the Peace.' M. St. Hilaire, in his 'History of Spain,' treats us to another version of this affair. He says that about this epoch a strange project appears to have flitted through the brain of the dictator of France, 'who, having a presentiment that a crown, consecrated by victory, would shortly adorn the brow of Bonaparte, entertained the idea of sacrificing Josephine to his ambitious views. He conceived the scheme of forming a matrimonial alliance with the Spanish Bourbons,

and resolved to demand the hand of the Infanta Maria Isabella, never dreaming for an instant that the Court of Madrid would presume to reject his proposals.' Lucien was directed, however, to feel the ground, and we are assured that he conducted the negotiation with great tact, insinuating that the young princess might one day serve as a bond between the two countries. 'My brother,' he added, 'is already a power in himself, and a day will come when his hand will be solicited on all sides; but his policy will ever be to consider Spain as the natural ally of France.' The Prince of the Peace, much embarrassed by this sudden proposal, replied evasively, and pretended not to comprehend the importance of Lucien's communication. Already, continues the historian, on the reception of the sovereigns of Etruria in Paris, some words had been uttered on this subject by the First Consul as a *ballon d'essai*.

Owing to that habitual dissimulation of which even M. Thiers complains, and the rapidity with which his conceptions apparently varied, it would be difficult to say at what precise moment it entered into the mind of Napoleon to imitate Louis XIV., and to unite France and Spain by means of a matrimonial alliance. But there is plenty of evidence to show that he seriously contemplated taking a Bourbon wife. What a triumph to marry a member of that family which had reigned for so many centuries in France, which still reigned in Spain and Naples, and which had bestowed on himself and his sister Eliza a free education. But there was still a strong Liberal feeling in the country, and the Republicans might a Bourbon princess in Paris. Such

a daring stroke would create general alarm, and betray too soon the ambitious designs of the First Consul.

Let us glance for a moment at the relative positions occupied by France and Spain, in order better to comprehend the story of the Spanish marriages, or rather non-marriages, in which Napoleon played a part.

Spain, like other European countries, had commenced by taking up arms against the French Republic. Her intercession on behalf of Louis XVI. had been treated with scorn. Nowhere was indignation more loudly expressed than in Spain, when the head of the French monarch fell under the Republican guillotine; and General Foy relates in his 'History of the Peninsular War' how the general of the Franciscans offered to place himself at the head of 10,000 monks to join in the invasion of France. Hostilities ensued between the two countries, and were carried on somewhat languidly, but in 1795 the French got possession of the Ebro provinces. On July 2 of that year was concluded between Spain and the French Republic the discreditable treaty of Bâle—almost as discreditable as that which Prussia had concluded at the same place a couple of months previously. By this treaty peace was re-established between the two countries. It was agreed that no troops beyond the usual garrisons should be quartered along the frontier, and in return for the French conquests being restored, Spain agreed to cede to the Republic the Spanish portion of St. Domingo, which turned out to be a very fatal gift. The conclusion of this treaty appears to have excited in Madrid even

more enthusiasm than the declaration of war in 1793, and the minister Godoi, under whose auspices it was signed, was created Prince of the Peace as a reward for having successfully conducted the negotiations. The treaty of Bâle was followed on August 19, 1796, by that of St. Ildefonso – a regular offensive and defensive treaty, binding either power to aid the other in case of war with fifteen vessels of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and lighter vessels in proportion ; also 18,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 cavalry, and a military train in proportion : ships and troops to be kept in a state of efficiency by the power furnishing them. Spain was to press Portugal to close her ports against England, for the King of Spain was the King of Portugal's father-in-law, and must necessarily possess sufficient influence over him to obtain this concession. This treaty, which M. Lanfrey calls a monument of imbecility on the part of the weaker power, greatly resembled the *pacte de famille* concluded between France and Spain in 1761. By the treaty of 1761 Spain was dragged into a disastrous war with England, lost several colonies, twelve ships of the line, and 4,000,000*l.* in the shape of prizes. The treaty of 1796 was productive of similar disasters.

We now come to the Consular period. On October 1, 1800, there was signed between France and Spain what is termed the second or secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, having for its object the aggrandisement of the States of the Duke of Parma, the Queen of Spain's brother, and the retrocession of Louisiana (which had been ceded to Spain by Louis XV.) to France. 'His Catholic Majesty,' ran this treaty, 'having always

manifested the desire to procure for H.R.H. the Duke of Parma an addition to his States in Italy on a footing suitable to his dignity, and the French Republic on its side having manifested to the King of Spain its desire to regain possession of Louisiana.' The Duke of Parma was to receive Tuscany (which did not belong to France, at that moment, even by right of conquest), and France was to receive Louisiana and six 74-gun ships.

France owed this treaty partly to the admiration with which Napoleon had inspired Charles IV., and partly to rich presents offered to, and not refused by, the Prince of the Peace.

On January 8, 1801, the peace of Luneville was concluded between France and Austria; and art. 5 of that treaty set forth that the Grand Duke of Tuscany should give up Tuscany and that portion of the island of Elba belonging to his States, Tuscany to go to the Duke of Parma, and the Grand Duke, thus despoiled, to receive compensation in Germany. The First Consul made several excuses for seizing on Tuscany, but his only valid reason was that he might be able, when peace was signed, to hand it over to the son-in-law of the King of Spain.

On January 29, 1801, another treaty, called the Treaty of Madrid, was signed between France and Spain, in which the various conditions concerning a war against Portugal were settled; and Lucien persuaded Charles IV. to march against his son-in-law at the head of 25,000 men, to enforce the continental blockade. He was to be supported by a French corps under Generals Leclerc and Gouvion St. Cyr. On March 21, 1801, a further treaty, called the Treaty

of Aranjuez, was signed between the two countries, by which the Duke of Parma gave up Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to the French Republic, while his son was to go to Florence and to reign as King of Tuscany. That portion of the island of Elba appertaining to Tuscany was to remain in the power of the French Republic, the First Consul giving Piombino, 'which belongs to the King of Naples,' as an equivalent. The new house established in Italy, and which was to be called that of Etruria, being Spanish, was to remain Spanish; and in the event of the direct succession failing, the crown was to revert to an infant of the House of Spain. The reigning duke having abdicated in favour of his son, was to be indemnified like the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

A fortnight before the conclusion of this treaty, Napoleon directed Talleyrand to write to Lucien telling him to offer the Duke of Parma, Lucca as well as Tuscany, but on the condition of the Court of Madrid giving him three frigates which were at Barcelona or Carthagena, and six vessels of war which were at the Havannah. Thus Napoleon, as Lanfrey remarks, ceded Tuscany, over which he had no right whatever, for Louisiana, and offered to sell an independent State for six vessels and three frigates.

Having settled the Parma and Tuscany affair, the First Consul invited the new King and Queen of Etruria to pass through Paris on their way to Florence. Madame de Staël, in her 'Dix Ans d'Exil,' says that Napoleon 'tried his hand on this royal lamb at making a king wait in his anteroom;' and we are given to understand that the object of the First Consul in

forcing the new sovereigns to visit the French capital was to hold up the King and Queen of Etruria to ridicule, to exhibit himself as a king-maker, and to degrade the monarchy. This appears to us a very false view of the case. It is possible, as has been argued, that Napoleon wished to show he had no fear of receiving a Bourbon in Paris; but it is equally possible he had other reasons for desiring their presence. That the spectacle was gratifying to French pride is tolerably certain. M. Thiers says that 'the sight of a king made by Republican hands was truly Roman.' It must not, however, be omitted that the royal pair were only received and fêted in Paris as the Count and Countess of Leghorn. This was a slight concession to that Republican feeling which Napoleon considered should not be openly offended. The probability is, however, that this visit was intimately connected with Napoleon's own matrimonial schemes, and that the King and Queen of Etruria were brought to Paris to see how the French would stand the sight of a Bourbon—perhaps to accustom them to the Bourbons, should he divorce Josephine and demand the hand of Maria Isabella. The Queen of Etruria, in her memoirs, mournfully relates how 'the Prince of the Peace paid a visit to my husband, and said it would be necessary to pass through Paris because the First Consul desired to see what effect the presence of a Bourbon would produce in France. My husband and I shuddered at the idea, for it showed they cared little about endangering our lives by exposing us in a country which had made such an atrocious massacre of our family.'

Fortunately for the 'royal lambs,' their fears

turned out illusory, and they were received in France as if her old tyrants had never existed. Their presence did not appear to awaken any painful recollections, and but for other circumstances Napoleon might have pursued his plans for an alliance much further.

Alluding to the matter at this time, he said in conversation with Azara, the Spanish ambassador, 'I am distrusted because I exercise a great influence over the destinies of Europe, but I know how to distinguish between friends and foes. The power of France is a force for Spain. An unlimited alliance between the two countries would make us exclusive masters of the policy of Europe. [Napoleon thought he would be able to conquer England with combined French and Spanish fleets.] . . . If Spain only knew if I could tell her all the projects which enter my mind, for her good and that of France!'

Charles IV., quickly informed of what was hatching in Paris, felt his kingly blood boil in his veins at the idea of such a marriage being proposed to a descendant of the Bourbons. Resolved at any price to avoid this scandal, he found only one means of escape, which was to marry the young Infanta immediately, before Napoleon had time to make a formal demand for her hand. A *fiancé* was found in the person of the heir to the crown of Naples, and the marriage was at once decided upon, as well as that of the Prince of Asturias with Maria Antonia, the sister of the Neapolitan prince.

The news of this double match put an end for the time being to the matrimonial schemes of the First Consul in Spain. Charles IV. had played Napoleon

a trick similar to that afterwards resorted to by the Empress of Russia.

There can be no doubt that Napoleon wished to mingle his blood with that of the Bourbons, and it is more than probable that the double marriage in question was not speedily forgotten or forgiven, although it may only have flashed through his mind as a possible combination. When Charles IV. announced the marriages, Napoleon returned a most gracious reply, for he was not in the habit of showing his claws until he intended using them.

Nothing could, however, exceed the irritation of Napoleon when, during his negotiations with England, he suddenly learned that Charles IV., who had gone to war with Portugal through weakness and complacency, and who had no grievance against that power, to which he was united by family ties, had come to terms with the Court of Lisbon. Only a few skirmishes had taken place, the Spanish troops under the Prince of the Peace had occupied the province of Alentejo, and hostilities were brought to a close. The French corps under Generals Leclerc and Gouvion St. Cyr had taken no part in the operations, which were concluded before they arrived.

A treaty was hastily signed at Badajoz, and it was for signing this treaty, before sending it to Paris for his brother's ratification, that Lucien was presented with the portrait of Charles IV., richly framed. Both the King and Queen of Spain were in camp at the time of the signature. Napoleon threatened at first to refuse his ratification, to occupy Portugal, and to annihilate the Spanish monarchy. But in the end he

thought better of all this, and determining to avoid a family scandal, satisfied himself with recalling Lucien, who was replaced. After-all, Lucien had accomplished the ostensible portion of his mission, which was to create ill-feeling between Spain and England and to force Portugal to close her ports to British vessels. But Napoleon really wished to obtain more; he desired to get possession of Portugal altogether, so as to be able to offer England that country in exchange for Malta, as he had bartered Tuscany for Louisiana.

To return to Lucien. On reaching France he went to stay at the château of Mereville with his friend Alexis de la Borde. By all accounts the party assembled at this mansion was given to riotous living. Lucien there met Marie de Bleschamps, the divorced wife of M. Jouberthon, a Paris stockbroker. The lady was lovely, and appears to have offered little or no resistance to the advances of the ex-ambassador. A regular liaison ensued, and Lucien promised marriage in the event of the birth of a male child. A son was born, and Lucien prepared to keep his word. Although it was only three years later that Napoleon, by the Senatus Consultum of year XII. (1804), obtained absolute authority over the rest of his family, he had already assumed a tone of command in dealing with his brothers and sisters, and brooked no resistance. He no sooner heard of Lucien's intended marriage with Madame Jouberthon than he endeavoured to dissuade him from it.

In 1876, Prince Pierre Bonaparte, one of Lucien's sons, printed some fragments of his father's memoirs

at Brussels, in which an account is given of a conversation which took place on this subject between Napoleon, Joseph, and Lucien. The First Consul began by teasing Joseph for only having daughters. He then continued—

Lucien, too, has only daughters; but he is a widower, and in marrying again he may have sons. It is for this reason I have decided upon marrying him. I hope he will not complain of my choice.

Lucien (laughing).—You have decided! You have made a choice! Thank you, Citizen Consul. But I think it is for me to make the selection, as the matter nearly concerns me.

The Consul.—It will be impossible for you to refuse when you know with whom it is. Joseph shall judge.

Joseph.—I have no objection; but it appears to me that it will be for Lucien himself to judge.

Lucien.—Without any doubt; and then, Citizen Consul, in spite of the gratitude I owe you, I may observe that I am of an age and in a position to marry by myself. I could only love the woman of my choice.

The Consul.—I see what it is. I have not been misinformed. This is not the moment to talk over my plans. Lovers will not listen to reason. However, I do not wish to be able to reproach myself hereafter with not taking advantage of a favourable circumstance which will certainly never present itself again.

Joseph.—Let us see what this is.

Lucien.—It is useless, my dear Joseph: don't you see that the Consul is only joking? Let us change the subject.

The Consul.—So be it. Only I cannot help remarking, Citizen Lucien, that they will cost you dear, the fine eyes of your lady. What is her name? . . . Madame Jo . . . Madame Jou . . . Joubert. . . . A devilish queer name, which one cannot remember.

Lucien.—If I knew whom you meant, I would aid you.

The Consul.—I am willing to believe that you do not know. I know very well. A fine woman, my faith! I do not deny that. . . . Learn, Lucien, that I am in earnest. It is simply a king's daughter of whose hand I can dispose. You need not laugh; it is a question of the Queen of Etruria, who declares she will only receive a husband from my hand.[1]

The three brothers then discussed the merits of the Queen of Etruria, the conclusion being that if ugly she was not deformed. And then, both Lucien and Joseph having suggested that it was Napoleon himself whom the Queen of Etruria desired to marry, the First Consul replied :—

Hold your tongues, *farceurs*. Am I not married?

Joseph.—The question of your divorce has often been raised.

Lucien.—Remember the overtures which the Queen of Spain made to me on the subject of the marriage of her youngest daughter, the Infanta Isabella! Then you were not what you are now; and is not the little Infanta the sister of the Queen of Etruria?

The Consul (looking angry).—That was a *chef-d'œuvre*, meddling in that intrigue.

Always suspicious of his brother, Lucien appears to have been convinced that Napoleon, in offering him the hand of the Queen of Etruria, simply intended to ruin him in public opinion. What a laugh would be raised by this ex-Jacobin, who had so recently assumed the surname of Brutus, marrying a princess of the House of Bourbon!

[1] The Queen, who lost her husband before she had been long at Florence, says in her memoirs that she demanded a husband from the Emperor.

The details of Prince Lucien's second marriage are exceedingly curious. Napoleon, by means of his police, knew all that was passing. Lucien appears to have sent for M. Duquesnoy, the mayor of the 10th ward, one day, and to have enjoined him to bring the marriage register to his hotel at eight that evening. At six o'clock the mayor received an order from the Tuileries not to remove the register from his municipality, and, above all, not to perform any marriage before the names of the parties had been posted up for a week, according to law. At 8 P.M. M. Duquesnoy repaired to the Rue St. Dominique and informed Lucien what had occurred. Finding it impossible to get married in Paris, Lucien ordered relays of post-horses, and a few days afterwards suddenly galloped off to Plessis Chamant with his intended. The curé, who was also the mayor of the village, was sent for, and at midnight performed the civil marriage, and then, removing his tricoloured scarf and putting on his sacerdotal robes, gave the fugitives his benediction. A good supper followed this double ceremony, at which we are told the *curé maire*, who was enchanted with the stroke of business he had done, assisted. He only got home at 6 A.M., and great was his astonishment to find a post-chaise drawn up at his door, with a mounted man on either side. On entering his house he was accosted by an officer of gendarmes, who politely invited him to accompany him to Paris. The poor curé, whose soul waxed faint within him, gave himself up for lost ; but it was necessary to obey, and he at once stepped into the carriage which was waiting for him, and was whirled off to the capital, revolving with much fear and trembling on

the strange vicissitudes of this life. He was driven straight to the Tuileries, and, more dead than alive, instantly ushered into the dread presence of Napoleon. 'It is you, then, sir,' thundered the First Consul, 'who marry members of my family without my consent and without having exacted the legal publication of the banns, which in your double character of mayor and curé you were bound to enforce? Do you know that you deserve to be unfrocked and prosecuted before the tribunals?' The unhappy culprit saw himself already in a dungeon. He could only stammer out a few excuses. However, he escaped with a sound rating, and without any more ado was permitted to return to his civil and spiritual flock.

This match drew down upon Lucien exile and much trouble of a political and family nature, during which it is pleasing to relate that both husband and wife, who had sown their wild oats, exhibited a fortitude and a nobleness of character that atoned for the irregularity which marked the beginning of their acquaintance.

The lady we find described as—

Marie Alexandrine Charlotte Louise Lawrence de Bleschamps, born in 1778, and daughter of a naval commissioner, who narrowly escaped losing his life during the Terror. One of her brothers was aide-de-camp to Poniatowski, and was drowned in the Elster at the same time as that gallant Pole. The Bleschamps were related on the female side to the Montmorencies and the Lamartines, and when the poet Lamartine was Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1848, he wrote the following note to Pierre Bonaparte:—

Prince,—You know that I have the greatest respect for your mother, and for you a feeling which you may permit me to call a family sentiment.

The moment is propitious for you to immortalise yourself after your exile. Come and see me to-morrow.

LAMARTINE.

Madame Jouberthon had two daughters by her first husband—a son who died in his infancy, and a daughter who married first Prince Hercolani, to whose ancestor Francis I. surrendered his sword at Pavia, and afterwards Prince Jablonowski, a Polish officer in the Austrian service.

Madame Lucien Bonaparte is spoken of as a woman of remarkable beauty and intelligence, and she certainly turned out the best of wives, and bore Lucien nine children. M. Lescure says of her, in 'Napoleon and his Family,' that 'she was a Frenchwoman with a Roman heart; she remained the good genius of Lucien's unsettled life, and the honour and charm of his wandering hearth.' Deeming it imprudent to brave his brother's anger, Lucien went into voluntary exile and took up his residence at Rome, and there he remained tranquilly living in the Via Condotti with his family, surrounded by his statues and paintings, until 1807, when he went to see Napoleon at Mantua.

We must now go back once more to Spanish affairs. Napoleon determined to punish the Court of Madrid for concluding the treaty of Badajos, and when the treaty of Amiens was discussed he consented that England should retain possession of Trinidad. This naturally produced a coolness between France and Spain.

It would be needless here to speak at any length of the treaty of Amiens and its rupture. Suffice it to say that in the ultimatum addressed to France, the British Government consented to recognise the kingdom of Etruria on certain conditions.

On May 13, 1803, Napoleon wrote to General Clarke, his ambassador at Florence, saying that Lord Whitworth had left Paris ; that war had not yet been declared, but that he was to take all necessary precautions, and to lay an embargo on all the ports in Etruria. This was the off-hand way in which he treated a country which he had given to Spain in exchange for Louisiana. Etruria was immediately invaded by French troops, and all the English vessels lying in Leghorn, which could not effect their escape in time, were seized.

Being in want of money to carry on his war with England, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for 80,000,000 francs. The Court of Madrid was highly incensed at this bargain, seeing that the King and Queen of Etruria had never been suffered to exercise more than a nominal sovereignty in Etruria. It considered that Napoleon should at least have consulted it on this matter. Prince Pierre Bonaparte, in the memoirs to which we have already referred, furnishes us with an account of an angry discussion that took place between Joseph and Napoleon on this subject. The former protested against the sale of Louisiana without the consent of the Chambers, and the latter persisted. Words at last ran so high that Joseph flung an inkstand at his brother's head, and, left in possession of the field of battle, smashed chairs and tables before taking his departure. In July 1803

the unfortunate Charles IV. was reminded of the existence of the offensive and defensive treaty of St. Ildefonso, and General Beurnonville, who had succeeded General Gouvion de St. Cyr as French ambassador at Madrid, was instructed to declare that his Government would be satisfied with a subsidy of 6,000,000 francs a month and sundry commercial advantages, instead of the ships and men stipulated for in 1796. The fact is, that Napoleon wished if possible to avoid dragging Spain into a war with England, lest England should revolutionise South America, and by preying upon Spanish galleons, stop the supply of precious metals furnished by Mexico and Peru. Charles made some show of resistance, but the knife was at his throat. Augereau was encamped at Bayonne, at the head of a considerable force, and he was obliged to acquiesce in the French demands. In the event of France coming out of the war victorious, Trinidad was to be given back to Spain, and should England be utterly destroyed, Gibraltar was to be restored to its old masters. England refused to tolerate this arrangement, and seized Spanish galleons. Hence a declaration of war which led to the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Trafalgar.

About a year after this the Prince of the Peace entered into a conspiracy against Napoleon. He sought the alliance of the Czar, ordered a levy of 40,000 men, and issued a vague and patriotic proclamation. However, the result of the battle of Jena was no sooner known at Madrid than Izquierdo was instructed to repair to Berlin in order to congratulate the French Emperor, and to assure him that the pro-

clamation in question was aimed, not at France, but at their mutual enemy, England. For some time the Court of Madrid flattered itself that this assurance had been accepted, and nothing led Manuel Godoi and his friends to suppose that Napoleon harboured any evil designs with regard to Spain; but in this the Prince of the Peace was sadly mistaken.

On March 7, 1807, Beurnonville was replaced at Madrid by the Comte de Beauharnais, who had sat in the Constituent Assembly, had served with the *émigrés* in the army of Condé, and who was the brother of Josephine's first husband. It is generally admitted that he was a simple-minded upright soldier, incapable of wittingly lending himself to the intrigues in which he was afterwards mixed up, intrigues which threw into the shade those of the War of Succession which led to the establishment of the Bourbons in Spain, or those attending the Spanish marriages in 1840.

When Beauharnais arrived at Madrid he found there two parties. On one side was Don Manuel Godoi, exceedingly unpopular in the country and distasteful to Napoleon; on the other the Prince of Asturias, of whom little was then known beyond the fact that he bore the most intense animosity towards Godoi, Prince of the Peace, who had in vain tried to disarm him by getting him to marry Maria Louisa de Bourbon, his own (Godoi's) sister-in-law. The Prince of Asturias had lost his first wife in 1806, under circumstances which appear to have affected his mind. He rejected with scorn the idea of becoming Godoi's brother-in-law. Beauharnais, who seems to have received no very definite instructions when setting out for his new post, naturally chose the side of

the Prince of Asturias, who also had a favourite in the person of Juan Escoiquiz, an ambitious monk of great literary pretensions, who had in turns translated the 'Paradise Lost' of Milton and the 'Monsieur Botte' of Pigault Lebrun. Escoiquiz, who had been the prince's tutor, had little difficulty in obtaining a complete ascendancy over his pupil, and he immediately set to work to undermine Godoi. Speedily perceiving that Beauharnais was favourable to his master, he was not long in turning his discovery to account. Aware that the court trembled at the name of Napoleon, he determined to procure his protection, and deemed this to be a simple matter enough. He knew that the Emperor of the French was on the look-out for royal alliances, and it occurred to him that it would be a clever political stroke if he could obtain the hand of a princess of the French Imperial blood for the Prince of Asturias. Escoiquiz entered into relations with Beauharnais on July 17, 1807—that is to say, at the very moment when Napoleon, returning from signing the treaty of Tilsit with a fresh crop of laurels, was writing from Dresden to his Foreign Minister, that it was high time to look after affairs in Spain. At his first interview with the French ambassador, Escoiquiz broached the subject of the alliance. Beauharnais appears to have been delighted with the demand, and at once consented to refer the matter to his Government. Afraid at first of compromising himself, in consequence of the demand having been made on the part of the heir to the throne, unknown to the king, he commenced by alluding to the matter in dubious terms, but he afterwards entered more boldly into details. Lanfrey

here states positively that—'Napoleon caused these overtures to be encouraged, but to say that they were too vague for any precise engagement to be arrived at. Beauharnais therefore continued his mysterious interviews with Escoiquiz; he continued them not only with the authorisation of his Government, but by its orders. There are a thousand proofs of this.'

While these negotiations were being carried on between the French ambassador and the favourite of the Prince of Asturias, Napoleon on his side was negotiating with the opposite party. In fact, on October 27 he concluded with Charles IV., and unknown to Beauharnais, the first treaty of Fontainebleau;[1] which led to such terrible consequences, and which has been so severely judged. It is all very well for M. Thiers to say that there was no perfidy on the part of Napoleon, but merely 'an inconceivable concatenation of circumstances.' Other French historians, not unfavourable to Napoleon, have written of this 'iniquitous treaty,' this 'perfidious trick,' this 'odious act of

[1] The King of Etruria had died, and had been succeeded by his infant son under the regency of the queen. By the treaty of Fontainebleau the Spanish Bourbons, in spite of the treaty of Aranjuez, were to be deprived of Etruria, and were to receive in exchange a portion of the kingdom of Portugal. By art. 1, the provinces of Minho and Douro, with the town of Oporto, were to be ceded to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania. By art. 2, the province of Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves, were to be bestowed on the Prince of the Peace. By art. 3, the provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, were to remain at the disposal of the high contracting parties until peace was signed. It was further stipulated that the King of Lusitania and the Prince of the Algarves should recognise the King of Spain as Protector, and that in the event of the House of Braganza being restored to Beira, &c., on the signing of peace, and in exchange for Trinidad and Gibraltar, the Portuguese sovereign should hold his States on the same conditions as the King of Lusitania and the Prince of the Algarves.

usurpation,' and the Duchess d'Abrantes admits that throughout this whole affair the Emperor behaved with great duplicity. In December 1808 Prince Metternich wrote a very remarkable despatch, in which he expressed himself in the following manner on the subject of Napoleon's general policy and his designs on Spain :—

> Napoleon [he said] always prepares the ground for his *future activity*, while we (and unfortunately all the Cabinets) too long believe him solely occupied with the object of the moment, sufficiently vast, without doubt, to absorb ordinary faculties. . . . Napoleon, before the end of the war with Prussia, prepared the destruction of Spain. The fall of the oldest, the most ill-used, and most disinterested of the allies, not only of Napoleon, but of all the preceding Governments in France [important remark, because it upsets the argument based on dynastic incompatibilities], should prove to the world that it is impossible for a power to be saved by *friendship* if it finds itself in the path of the French Emperor. . . . Napoleon, engrossed with the idea of invading Spain, would listen to no remonstrances against a project which was as impolitic in its conception as it was ridiculous and criminal in its means of execution. Guided by his insatiable ambition, and the perfidious counsels of Murat, who hoped to seat himself on the throne, &c.

By the treaty of Fontainebleau Portugal was to be partitioned, and a share of the spoil was to fall to Don Manuel Godoi. Had Beauharnais been aware of what was going on in France, is it probable that he would have continued his negotiations with Escoiquiz? Lanfrey thinks he would not.

Although M. Thiers traces the turn which Spanish affairs took to an 'inconceivable concatenation of circumstances,' he admits that Spain did what she could

to appease the wrath of Napoleon. The Court of Madrid, he says, was not only represented by Masserano, an official agent, and Izquierdo, a secret agent, but Charles also despatched to Paris the Duke of Frias, as honorary ambassador, specially charged to disarm the anger of the Emperor, and to explain away the Godoi proclamation.

To return to Beauharnais. On September 30, having complained that he had received no written demand, nothing but words, respecting the hand of the French princess, on October 12 Escoiquiz brought him a letter in which the Prince of Asturias, addressing 'the hero whose feats surpass everything done by former heroes,' not only begged this hero to accord him the honour of an alliance with the Imperial family, but implored his paternal protection. The gravest accusations were brought by Ferdinand against his father—accusations which furnished Napoleon with an excellent pretext for interfering between Charles IV. and his son. Beauharnais was consequently instructed to continue his negotiations, and Ferdinand was encouraged to rebel against his father.

On October 29 the king, who suspected his son of conspiring against him, caused him to be arrested and his papers to be seized. Among many other compromising documents, the memorandum of Escoiquiz, demanding the hand of a French princess, was discovered. On the same day King Charles wrote a letter to Napoleon complaining of Beauharnais, and requesting his removal. His Majesty was so far from suspecting that Napoleon himself was in any way mixed up in this affair, that he sought his advice with

regard to the conduct of his son, and notified his intention of punishing the prince by cutting him off from the succession. This was the letter he wrote:—

St. Laurent: October 29, 1807.

At the very moment I was thinking of nothing but the means of co-operating in the destruction of our common enemy [England], and counteracting the projects of the *ci-devant* Queen of Naples [his sister-in-law Caroline], I perceived with horror that the spirit of intrigue had penetrated into the bosom of my palace. Alas, my heart bleeds while narrating so terrible a crime! My eldest son, the heir-presumptive of my crown, formed the horrible plot to dethrone me, and even went so far as to attempt the life of his mother. So black a crime must be punished with the greatest severity.

CHARLES.

On the reception of this letter, Napoleon, who believed that his plans had been unmasked, flew into a violent passion and overwhelmed Masserano, the official ambassador, with menaces. He declared that since the Court of Madrid had dared to calumniate Beauharnais, he should immediately march upon Spain, and in fact Clarke was ordered to accelerate the departure of General Dupont, who commanded the corps of observation in the Gironde. Directions were also given for the formation of a third army on the Spanish frontier, and troops were hurried thither by post from Metz, from Nancy, and Sedan.

However, at the very moment Napoleon was about to fall on his prey, everything was countermanded. News had been received at Fontainebleau that the Prince of Asturias, alarmed for his safety, had implored pardon in these terms:—

November 5, 1807.[1]

Sire and Father,—I acknowledge my guilt. In offending your Majesty I offended my father and my king. But I repent, and promise your Majesty the most humble obedience. I ought to have done nothing without the consent of your Majesty, but I was taken by surprise. I have denounced the guilty parties, and I implore your Majesty to pardon me and to allow a grateful son to kiss his feet.

The prince in fact denounced Escoiquiz, together with the Duke of Infantado and his other partisans, and acknowledged the interviews of the former with Beauharnais and the demand addressed to Napoleon, at the instigation of his ambassador, for the hand of a French princess. The Prince of the Peace was almost terrified out of his life when he found the French Emperor was engaged in this affair. He determined at once to stay all proceedings as far as the Prince of Asturias was concerned, in order that Napoleon might have no pretext for interfering any further, or manifesting his wrath. On November 5 a royal decree was published at Madrid, in which the king declared that he had pardoned his son owing to his repentance and the entreaties of the queen.

The Prince of Asturias having been pardoned, Napoleon had no longer an excuse for intervening between Charles and his son. He, however, told Champagny to inform the Spanish ambassador that

[1] But did not another king's son, of much sterner stuff than Ferdinand, after an act of rebellion or desertion which nearly cost him his life, once write as humble an apology, dated Custrin, November 19, 1730, and say: 'All-serenest and all-graciousest Father,—To your Royal Majesty, my all-graciousest Father, I have, by my disobedience as your subject and soldier, not ess than by my undutifulness as your son, given occasion for just wrath,' &c. &c. Signed 'FREDERICK' (afterwards the Great.)

under no pretext would he tolerate the publication of anything concerning either himself or Beauharnais in this affair. To the demand—'But if it be proved that Beauharnais was guilty, must the action of justice be suspended, to the great scandal of the nation?' Champagny curtly replied, 'Such is the order of his Majesty.' Not only this, but, on the reiterated demand of the King of Spain, Napoleon refused either to withdraw or to disavow his ambassador. He even went so far as to write a letter to his 'dear brother Charles,' on November 13, in which he said: 'In the interest of truth I must inform your Majesty that I have never received any letter from the Prince of Asturias, and that never, either directly or indirectly, have I heard him spoken of, so that it may be safely said I was not aware of his existence!' Napoleon, whose interest it was to save the prince, concluded his letter by assuring the king of his sincere attachment. This epistle, by the way, was confided by the Emperor to one of his chamberlains, M. de Tournon, who was instructed to note, while passing through Spain, whether public opinion was favourable to the Prince of Asturias or to the Prince of the Peace. Strange to say, public opinion was decidedly favourable to the former, because he was supposed to be hostile to France. On this same November 13, 1807, General Dupont was ordered to cross the frontier, contrary to treaty, on the pretext that it was necessary to reinforce the French troops in Portugal under Junot. At that date Junot, although his army had reached Portugal in a deplorable condition, was in no way menaced.

According to M. Thiers, Napoleon had determined

to get rid of the Bourbons and to substitute Bonapartes on the various thrones they filled; but with regard to Spain he adjourned his plans. The fact appears to be that he several times changed his mind with regard to the Peninsula, owing probably to the counsels he received to moderate his policy. M. Thiers also says that, after the scandal which had occurred, Napoleon hesitated to give Ferdinand a French princess. However, he was to meet Lucien in Italy; he would make friends with him, and obtain his daughter, who might be the princess destined for the Spanish throne. At the same moment, and while Napoleon was revolving this matter in his mind, Charles IV. came to the conclusion that the best thing he could do would be to throw himself into the arms of his 'magnanimous friend,' and he declared that after all the Prince of Asturias had not been badly inspired in demanding the hand of a princess of the Imperial family. He therefore came to the determination to address a formal demand himself to his 'magnanimous friend' on the subject of an union he had formerly scouted as derogatory to his royal blood. He argued that if Napoleon accepted his offer, then his throne would be saved from the dangers which apparently menaced it; while if Napoleon refused the alliance, he would at least have the advantage of knowing in what position he stood. Both the queen and Godoi were violently opposed to the idea of seeing Ferdinand married to a French princess, and protected by Napoleon; but aware that not to renew the proposal of Ferdinand would be equivalent to declining the alliance, they agreed to the demand being made. The consequence was that Charles IV.

addressed an affectionate letter to Napoleon containing the demand, and a second letter asking the Emperor to carry out the stipulations of the treaty of Fontainebleau. Godoi was exceedingly anxious on this subject. All kinds of rumours seem to have been prevalent at this time in Madrid respecting the treaty in question, and Beauharnais, who had been left in ignorance of its conclusion, denied its existence with such manifest good faith that his assurances were believed. With regard to this incident, the apologetic historian of Napoleon exclaims: 'Strange detail in this sad and gloomy fall of the Spanish Bourbons. While the Prince of the Peace was demanding permission to publish the treaty of Fontainebleau, Beauharnais was demanding the authorisation of his Government to deny its existence.' All this time the French ambassador continued to carry on negotiations with the Prince of Asturias, the more eagerly because he thought his relative, Mdlle. Tascher, the niece of Josephine, who had been just adopted by Napoleon, was the princess destined to become Queen of Spain.

We must now follow the footsteps of Napoleon, who, to distract attention from Spain, to avoid replying directly to the letters of Charles, to see his brother Lucien, and to arrange other matters, went to Italy. There is evidence to show that, at all events as early as June 1807, he contemplated betrothing Lucien's eldest daughter to the Prince of Asturias, for his sister Eliza, on the 20th of that month, wrote in this wise to Lucien. She pressed him to listen to the proposals of Napoleon, in order to prevent the Emperor from adopting Eugène Beauharnais as his successor.

'Napoleon,' she added, 'will make a brilliant match for your daughter. You must not deal with the master of the world as with an equal. Reflect! your mother and all your family will be delighted to see you accept the offers of the Emperor.'

Joseph, too, who saw Lucien at Modena in 1807, appears to have urged upon him the necessity of yielding, and wrote to the Emperor, saying, 'Lucien will do anything for your Majesty but desert his wife.' If we are to believe the Duchess d'Abrantes, Napoleon, doubting the success of his scheme for marrying his niece with the Prince of Asturias, whose infamous conduct was tolerably well known, engaged a clever Corsican administrator, of the name of Campi, to open negotiations with his brother. Madame Lucien, on her side, nobly consented to a separation, which, it was thought, would satisfy Napoleon, who had positively declared she should 'never sit by his side.' On Madame Lucien asking her husband if he would deprive his children of thrones, he quietly asked her if she would deprive them of a mother: and Lucien informed the Corsican, Campi, that he intended to cleave to his wife, who had given him four children, and no cause of complaint.

Napoleon, however, thought that he could succeed where others had failed. He was not accustomed to be foiled. An interview between the two brothers was arranged, and took place in December 1807 at Mantua. They met in no very friendly mood, and Lucien certainly failed to treat his brother with the unlimited deference recommended by the Princess Eliza. The discussion appears to have been exceedingly stormy—so stormy that when it was

over, Napoleon was unable to remember exactly what had passed. Several brilliant offers were made to Lucien if he would only repudiate his wife—the throne of Portugal; a new kingdom in Italy; the hand of the Queen of Etruria was once more proposed; and the duchy of Parma for Madame Lucien. However, Lucien was not to be moved. He may have been dazzled for a moment at 'the prospect of reigning over people accustomed to monarchical institutions,' but he refused to sacrifice his domestic happiness for the pleasure of becoming the crowned prefect of his despotic brother.

After the interview, Napoleon wrote thus to Joseph:

Milan: December 17, 1807.

I saw Lucien at Mantua. I think he promised to send me his eldest daughter. This young person must be in Paris by January. Lucien, who appeared to be swayed by various conflicting feelings, had not the strength of mind to come to a decision. I did all I could to persuade him to employ his talents for me and for his country. If he wishes to send me his daughter she must start without delay, and he must send me a declaration placing her entirely at my disposal. There is not a moment to be lost. Events are marching rapidly, and my destinies must be accomplished. I await with impatience a clear and concise answer with regard to Charlotte.

NAPOLEON.

For reasons sufficiently palpable, the following paragraphs, to be found in the original letter, have been omitted in the 'Correspondence of Napoleon': 'The interests of Lucien's family will be provided for. The divorce with Madame Jouberthon once pronounced, and Lucien established in a foreign country

[as King of Italy or Grand Duke of Tuscany], he will be at liberty to live on intimate terms with Madame Jouberthon, but not in France; nor must he reside with her as if she were a princess and his wife. Madame Jouberthon will have an elevated title conferred upon her at Naples or elsewhere. Politics alone influence me in this matter, and I have no desire to meddle with the tastes and passions of Lucien.'

The reason of this impatience was, that the Emperor had received another pressing letter from Spain on the subject of the alliance. According to M. Thiers, Napoleon asked Lucien for his daughter, so that she might 'be reared by Madame Mère, penetrated with his views, and sent to Spain to regenerate the Bourbon race.' At the same time, and probably to overcome the scruples of Lucien, who hesitated about confiding his daughter to the Prince of Asturias, the Emperor said that there were other thrones besides that of Spain.

It was necessary for Napoleon to come to a decision, and he appears for a time to have hesitated between three courses—first, to form a matrimonial alliance with Spain, to overthrow the Prince of the Peace, who was most unpopular with the nation, and to exact nothing from Spain which could offend the country. The second plan which suggested itself was a marriage, the overthrow of the favourite, and to make Spain pay for these benefits by a cession of territory. The third plan was simply to depose the Bourbons, and to establish a new dynasty. It was considered by some of his Majesty's advisers that the first plan was the best of the three. Talleyrand was

of this opinion, being convinced that if the matrimonial alliance were accomplished, if Portugal were ceded to Spain, and if France made no demand for the provinces of the Ebro, the Spaniards would willingly fight against England. Napoleon, at the last moment, conceived doubts with regard to Spanish gratitude and the capability of Charlotte Bonaparte to shape the destinies of a kingdom.

Charlotte Bonaparte was duly sent up to Paris and confided to the care of Madame Mère, who sent her to Madame Campan's. But, alas! the two first plans were frustrated by the precocious wit of a child who had only just entered her teens (she was born in 1796), and hence a long and sanguinary war, which exhausted the blood and treasure of France, which was intensely unpopular at home, and which gave the British army, under Wellington, the opportunity of acquiring fame by marching from Lisbon to Bordeaux, in spite of Junot, of Soult, Massena, Marmont, Victor, Suchet, and other Imperial commanders.

Napoleon returned to Paris on January 3, but it was only a week later that he replied to the King of Spain. This letter, dated January 10, 1808, ran thus:—

I was in Italy when I received your Majesty's letter of November 18 [no mention of the second letter about the treaty of Fontainebleau, which his Majesty was ashamed to publish], in which you make known your desire to consolidate the bonds between the two states by uniting the Prince of Asturias to a French princess. I share the sentiments of your Majesty, and willingly consent to this alliance. But your Majesty must understand that no man of honour would like to ally himself to a son dishonoured by his 'Declaration,' without the assurance of his having reconquered the

good graces of his father. [As if Napoleon was not perfectly aware of the reconciliation.] Your Majesty cannot doubt my desire to see all difficulties removed, so that we may take proper measures for subduing our implacable enemies.

Having received no reply to this letter, probably because Charles IV. perceived that French troops, in spite of the proposed alliance and contrary to the stipulations of the treaties of St. Ildefonso and Fontainebleau, were being marched into Spain, Napoleon wrote again to the King of Spain thus :—

Paris : February 25, 1808.

Your Majesty, in your letter of November 18 last, demanded the hand of a French princess for the Prince of Asturias. I replied on January 10 that I consented [nothing more about dishonour]. Your Majesty, in your letter of February 5 [demanding explanations on other questions], makes no mention of this marriage. The consequence is, that many matters which concern the interests of my people are left in obscurity. I rely upon your friendship to remove all doubts on this subject.

Poor little Charlotte Bonaparte did not long remain in Paris. Madame de Rémusat says, that the Emperor, not liking the turn affairs had assumed in Spain, desired the marriage of his niece with the Prince of Asturias. 'But this young person, who lived with her grandmother, wrote so freely to her father about all she saw at the court of her uncle, turning the most important personages of the Empire into ridicule, that, her letters having been opened, she was sent back to Italy by the Emperor.' It appears that Napoleon summoned his mother, his brothers, and his sisters to the Tuileries, to listen to the

contents of these intercepted letters, which he maliciously read aloud. All the family had been terribly handled in them, and the Emperor was intensely amused at the anger excited by the sharp strictures of Lucien's daughter, who expressed her desire to escape from the immoral atmosphere of the Imperial Court. Napoleon gave orders that Charlotte Bonaparte should be sent back to Italy at once. No other princess of the Imperial House remained for the Prince of Asturias. The daughters of Joseph were children, and Mdlle. Tascher, the niece of Josephine, and relative of Beauharnais, who had been adopted by the Emperor, had just been married to the heir of the princely house of Arenberg. But the union of Mdlle. Tascher with Ferdinand would never have suited the ideas of Napoleon, who, as M. Thiers says, 'wished to mingle his own blood, and not that of Josephine, with the blood of the Bourbons.'

It is said that Lucien, who had only parted with his daughter most reluctantly, went twenty leagues to meet her as she returned home, and exclaimed with a transport of delight on seeing her once more, 'My child, I committed a great fault; but you are restored to me, and the evil is repaired!'

The next step which Napoleon took was to drive Izquierdo, the negotiator of the treaty of Fontainebleau, from Paris, after having proposed to him, through Duroc and Talleyrand, a new treaty to this effect—'Spain to cede the provinces of the Ebro in exchange for Portugal and the hand of a French princess.' There was nothing serious in this offer, and the unfortunate Izquierdo, perplexed and alarmed

by the Imperial proposition, immediately set out for Madrid. He had no longer any doubt with regard to the sinister intentions of Napoleon and the object of his military preparations. On March 1, 1808, Murat entered Spain and established his head-quarters at Burgos; Dupont advanced by Valladolid, Moncey by Aranda. Junot was ordered to support this movement by marching on Badajos, while Beauharnais was directed to notify to the Spanish Government the approaching arrival of two French divisions at Madrid *on their way to Cadiz*; also to spread the report that Napoleon himself might be expected in the capital, as he was going to besiege Gibraltar and then to march into Africa! His Majesty, however, for the time contented himself with going with his court to Bayonne, and it was while watching events from that neutral town that a revolution took place at Aranjuez, in consequence of the people suspecting Charles IV. of intending to leave the country. Charles was dethroned, and Ferdinand reigned in his stead.

Several letters had been written to Murat during the month of March, directing him to tranquillise the king, the queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the Prince of the Peace, and to reassure them with regard to these military movements. He was to hold the balance even between them. Both of the court parties were anxious to gain the support of Napoleon, and both were confident they had secured it. On their side the Spanish people were bewildered, but inclined to think that Napoleon intended to deliver them from an odious government, to place Ferdinand on the throne, and to marry him to his niece. This

was the reason why the French troops were received with open arms at Madrid. It was not known that Charlotte Bonaparte had been sent back to Italy, and that Napoleon on March 27 had offered the throne of Spain to his brother Louis, 'as Holland did not agree with him.' The letter to Louis containing this offer is the first bit of documentary evidence concerning the intention of Napoleon to dethrone the Bourbons of Spain, and to substitute a prince of his own dynasty for what he now pronounced to be an effete race.

On March 30 Napoleon wrote to Murat, saying—'I have received your letters and those of the King of Spain [on the subject of the revolution of Aranjuez and the abdication of Charles IV.]. You have done well in not recognising the Prince of Asturias. You should treat him with the greatest respect, and declare that he rules in Spain until I have recognised the revolution.'

A couple of days afterwards Napoleon wrote again to Murat, telling him to render himself master of the ex-king, adding—'As for the new king, you tell me that he is coming to Bayonne. I think that this will be useful.'

On April 16, in reply to a very abject letter from Ferdinand, reminding him of all the marks of attachment he had shown him since he ascended the throne, Napoleon wrote:—

My *Brother*,—I have received the letter of your Royal Highness, who must have learned from your father the interest with which he has always inspired me. You will permit me, under present circumstances, to speak to you frankly and loyally. I had hoped, on arriving at Madrid, to have induced my illustrious friend [Charles IV.] to make some

necessary reforms. But I was detained in the north [fighting at Wagram], and the revolution of Aranjuez occurred. I am not a judge of what has passed, but can only say that it is dangerous to accustom people to shed blood and to take the law into their own hands.

After expressing a wish to talk over matters with Ferdinand, Napoleon continued—'I proclaim to your Royal Highness, to the Spaniards, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of King Charles was spontaneous, if he was not driven to it by the rising at Aranjuez, I shall make no difficulty in recognising your Royal Highness as King of Spain.' Napoleon, when he thus wrote, knew all about the Aranjuez affair, and he had in his pocket the protestation of Charles against what he afterwards called an act of violence. The Emperor then came to the matrimonial scheme, blaming Ferdinand for having made his demand unknown to his father, and declaring that any overtures made to a foreign sovereign on the part of an hereditary prince were criminal. However, he would try and forget the crime, and he encouraged the unfortunate Ferdinand not to renounce all hope in the following words, which do not appear to have been inserted in the 'Moniteur':—'I hold the marriage of a French princess with your Royal Highness to be in conformity with the interests of my people; above all because it will attach me by new bonds to a house which has merited nothing but my praise since I ascended the throne.'

It would perhaps be difficult to carry dissimulation and perfidy further than this. On the very next day Napoleon wrote to Marshal Bessières—'If the Prince of Asturias comes to Bayonne, all well and good. But

if he should attempt to return to Burgos [he was then at Vittoria, half-way between the two places] you will arrest him, and bring him here.'

It should be added that Savary had at first only asked Ferdinand to go as far as Burgos, giving him to understand that the Emperor would meet *his Majesty* there. Having once got to Burgos, Ferdinand allowed himself to be lured further on.

We need not further dwell on the ignoble stratagems by which the drivelling Charles and the base and cowardly Ferdinand were coaxed to Bayonne and there deprived of their rights and liberty.

On arriving at the château of Marrac, Ferdinand had the honour of dining with the Emperor, but as soon as dinner was over, he and the other guests were dismissed, with the exception of Escoiquiz, to whom his Majesty had something to say. His object evidently was to work on the fears of the prince through the monk. Escoiquiz himself has left on record what passed between the two negotiators on this occasion, and his account furnishes us with an interesting sketch of the diplomatic manner of Napoleon; it runs thus:—

On May 20, 1808, at seven in the evening, Napoleon summoned to the château of Marrac, situated at a quarter of a league from Bayonne, Dom Jean d'Escoiquiz, and had the following conversation with him in his cabinet:—

Napoleon.—Canon, having heard of your honesty and intelligence, I have long desired to talk over the affairs of your prince with you, the more so because, in the position I find myself, I cannot avoid feeling for his father, who has implored my protection. I cannot refuse this; all Europe has its eyes fixed on me. The circumstances which induced Charles IV. to renounce the crown, surrounded as

he was by seditious guards and insurgents, show that he was constrained to act as he did; and, as at the same epoch my troops were in Spain, as they were already in the vicinity of the court, people might deem themselves authorised to suppose that I took part in this act of violence, which offers to all the courts the dangerous example of a son who has conspired against his father and dethroned him. My honour is interested in removing this suspicion, and in proving to the world that I am incapable of supporting so unjust and scandalous an attempt. I shall therefore only recognise Ferdinand as the rightful sovereign when his father, who has protested against his renunciation, shall have freely renewed this act in favour of his son. Since it is necessary to say it, however, I may state that the interests of my empire require that the House of Bourbon, which is my implacable foe, be driven from the Spanish throne. It is also in the interest of your nation that it should be so, because in driving out a dynasty whose last kings have caused so many misfortunes, Spain will enjoy, under the sovereign I intend to place on the throne, a better constitution, and besides, becoming by this means the intimate ally of France, she will always be protected from the only enemy capable, by its neighbourhood and its power, of harming her. Charles IV., feeling that his sons are not fit to hold the reins of government in these difficult times, and being anxious to preserve his people from the misfortunes which threaten them, is disposed to cede me his rights, and those of his family, to the throne of Spain.

All these reasons have determined me not to permit the Bourbon family to reign henceforth in Spain; *but as I have the greatest esteem for Ferdinand,*[1] who, besides, had the confidence to come and see me at Bayonne,[2] it is with him

[1] In a letter to Talleyrand May 1, 1808, Napoleon said, *Le Prince des Asturies est très-bête, très-méchant, très-ennemi de la France.* In spite of this and of his conduct to his father he possessed the Imperial esteem!

[2] On April 17 Napoleon wrote his famous instructions to Bessières to arrest the Prince of Asturias and bring him on to Bayonne, if he attempted to escape.

that I desire to treat. I propose to indemnify him and his brothers for what my policy obliges me to deprive them of.

You will therefore propose to Ferdinand, on my part, to renounce his rights to the crown, in exchange for which I will cede him the kingdom of Etruria [1] for himself and heirs male for ever, and I will give him one year's revenue in advance.

As soon as the treaty is signed I will give him my niece in marriage, and in this way he will have an unequivocal proof of my friendship; if he agrees to these propositions the treaty will be concluded at once, with all the necessary formalities and solemnities; in the contrary case, it is with his father that I shall come to terms, and in that case neither the prince nor his relations need expect any compensation. As for the Spanish nation, I will engage, should Ferdinand subscribe to my conditions, to give it, under the new dynasty, entire independence, and to preserve its laws, customs, and religion. I do not wish to take a single village for myself from Spain.[2] Besides, if my propositions do not suit your prince, he can, if he wishes, return to his states. But first of all we will fix a date for his return, after which hostilities will commence between us.

Escoiquiz.—I am extremely flattered, sire, to have the opportunity of personally expressing to your Imperial Majesty the sentiments of admiration and respect with which I have long regarded you, &c., and I hope you will permit me to speak openly.

[1] Poor Etruria, which had already been bartered away twice, and which Napoleon now proposed to take from Ferdinand's sister!

[2] In February 1808, when Napoleon drove Izquierdo, the negotiator of the treaty of Fontainebleau, from Paris, Duroc and Talleyrand were instructed to give him to understand that he might propose a new treaty on the basis of the cession of the provinces of the Ebro, in exchange for Portugal and the hand of a French princess, and afterwards when Joseph was King of Spain, the Emperor frequently insisted on the above provinces being ceded. As for not interfering with religion, one of Napoleon's first acts in Spain was to abolish the Inquisition, while his troops pillaged every church they came across.

Napoleon.—I allow you to say all you wish. I know that you are a worthy man, and your sincerity, far from offending me, will make me esteem you all the more.

Escoiquiz.—Since you permit me, sire, to speak openly, I will not conceal how much your proposition has astonished me—a proposition which my king and the nation are far from suspecting. In fact, the close alliance which, for a century past, has subsisted between the two states, and which was renewed under your empire; the continual efforts of Spain since that epoch, and up to the present moment, to support France in all her wars, even in that which your Imperial Majesty undertook in order to dethrone the Bourbon branch which reigned at Naples; efforts in which Spain sacrificed her marine, exhausted her treasury, and finished by ruining herself;[1] the handing over of our fortresses on the frontier; the free entry accorded to your troops, even to the court of our sovereign, and all that with a confidence inspired only by the blindest friendship; the intentions manifested by King Ferdinand, while he was yet prince, to unite himself with a princess of your august house, in order to tighten still more the bonds of this alliance, intentions the manifestation of which, though solicited in your name by your Majesty's ambassador, Beauharnais, were regarded as a crime, and nearly cost the prince his life; the anxiety of this prince, during the short time he was on the throne, to testify the same intentions and the same desires: all these proofs of attachment and sincerity render him beyond suspicion.

Permit me, sire, persuaded as I am that the project for depriving the king and his dynasty of the crown of Spain, can only be the result of false information concerning the affairs of the kingdom, to lay before you the true state

[1] The offensive and defensive alliance with France had been productive of nothing but disaster for Spain, who lost her marine at Trafalgar, the isle of Trinidad at Amiens, and who afterwards learned that Napoleon had offered the Balearic Islands, first to England, then to Russia.

of the case, and to show that this project is contrary to the interests of my sovereign and of Spain.

Here Escoiquiz gave his account of the Aranjuez revolution, and declared that Charles IV. had voluntarily renounced the crown. Escoiquiz himself had done nothing but confer with the ambassador Beauharnais, and give him the letter in which the Prince of Asturias implored the support of Napoleon in order to obtain the hand of his niece and defeat the diabolical machinations of the Prince of the Peace.

Napoleon.—I am aware of all these details and the innocence of the prince; but the odious affair of Aranjuez, the renunciation of the king made in the midst of an irritated people; the desertion of his guards, who, instead of supporting their master, contributed not a little to force his hand; the hurry with which Ferdinand took advantage of the renunciation; his conduct, and that of his partisans, on the occasion; all that, is it not enough to make both Europe and myself believe that Charles was constrained to renounce his crown? Besides, what proves it is, that the unhappy monarch, directly he was free, complained of this violence, and that two days afterwards he addressed me a formal protest, and implored me to defend his life and authority against his son and his subjects.

Escoiquiz.—I cannot express, sire, how happy I esteem myself to be able to treat an affair of this importance with a monarch endowed with a superior genius and extensive views, &c.

And Escoiquiz explained that the revolution of Aranjuez was owing to the fact that on the king announcing his intention of retiring to Andalusia with his family, the people thought he was about to imitate the sovereign of Portugal, and to desert them for the colonies. Jealous of the honour of their country, and

faithful to their king, they could not see this enterprise without indignation ; the troops shared the popular sentiment. The renunciation of King Charles was signed in presence of all the royal family and the principal members of the court. His joy was afterwards so great that he assured Mgr. Gravina, the papal nuncio, and Count Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador, that he had never done anything with so much pleasure, and in order to prove it he added that his happiness in this circumstance was so unalloyed that it had enabled him to sign with his own hand a faculty of which he had been long deprived owing to rheumatism. As for the protest afterwards made by Charles, that was inspired by the queen, instigated by the Prince of the Peace.

Napoleon.—No matter what colour you give, canon, to the Aranjuez rising, you must acknowledge that appearances are against the abdication having been freely signed. Therefore this act, in spite of all your efforts, will be generally regarded as having been inspired by a very pressing danger.

Escoiquiz.—Sire, I have only given these events the colour of truth. . . . I would observe to your Majesty that there is nothing astonishing in the fact of Charles IV. protesting against his renunciation almost as soon as he had signed it, at least for those persons aware of the excessive weakness of his Majesty.

Napoleon.—I am not ignorant, canon, of all that has been said about the weakness of Charles IV.; but there are peculiarities about his renunciation which in my eyes confirm its nullity. An act so hastily accomplished, on a day of sedition, and immediately retracted, will never be regarded by sensible men as having been freely and voluntarily made. Recollect the examples which the history of

your country furnishes. Both Charles V. and Philip V. observed all the due formalities on similar occasions.

Escoiquiz then endeavoured at great length to show that the abdication was freely and solemnly accomplished.

Napoleon.—In spite of all your reasons, canon, I hold to my first idea, that an abdication signed during an *émeute* is not legitimate; but let us put this matter aside for the moment, and tell me if I can lose sight of the interests of my house and my empire, which exact that the Bourbons should no longer reign in Spain? (In speaking thus, Napoleon, in the best humour in the world, and pulling my ear, as if for amusement, added) Canon, even if you were right in all you have said, I should still reply—*Mauvaise politique.*

Escoiquiz.—I feel the full force of this sentence, sire; but I dare flatter myself to be able to prove that sound policy, and the interest of your Majesty and your empire are opposed to this determination.

And after many compliments Escoiquiz assured the Emperor that the Spanish nation would resist the proposed change.

Napoleon (smiling most agreeably, and pulling my ear with considerable force).—Canôh, I had heard a great deal of you, and I see that you know a thing or two.

Escoiquiz (I laughing also).—Pardon me, sire; but it seems to me that your Majesty knows infinitely more than I do; facts prove this. The advantage is surely not on my side.

Napoleon (after having laughed heartily).—Let us return to our object, canon; you must see as well as I do that as long as the Bourbons remain on the throne I can never hope for a sincere alliance with Spain. They will pretend to be friendly as long as they are not strong enough to hurt

me, but their hatred will burst out directly they see me embarrassed in some northern war, and then they will join my enemies. How better justify this opinion than in reminding you of the perfidy of Charles IV. himself, who, in spite of his pretended fidelity, wished to declare war shortly before Jena, when he thought me occupied with Prussia? Did he not seize the occasion when danger menaced me to issue a proclamation tending to arm all his subjects against me?[1] Never—no, never—shall I be able to count upon Spain as long as the Bourbons remain.

Escoiquiz attempted to show that Napoleon had nothing to fear from the Spanish Bourbons, who were interested in remaining faithful to the French alliance, and who had nothing in common with the other Bourbons, and in proof of this he gave a long historical sketch of Spanish politics. He pointed out that the Spanish Bourbons had never formed alliances with the other branches through family motives. It was true that Charles IV. had declared war against France when the Convention beheaded Louis XVI., but the King of Sweden, who was no Bourbon, had done the same. When a moderate Government succeeded the Convention, Charles had immediately concluded peace, and the most amicable relations existed between the two countries when his Majesty assumed the reins of government. The French princes had been driven into exile and their hopes blighted; his Majesty had found himself obliged to expel the

[1] But this proclamation was two years old. It was no sooner issued than withdrawn. The King of Spain had sent the Duc de Frias to Napoleon to congratulate him and appease him, after Tilsit. The Emperor had received the ambassador with great kindness, and on Sept. 8, 1808, had written to Charles, thanking him for having always behaved as the *faithful ally* of France. Not a word was said about the proclamation.

brother of Charles IV. from the throne of Naples, and this had only rendered the alliance contracted with France more intimate. As for the proclamation, that was not the work of a Bourbon, of Charles IV., but of the Prince of the Peace, who was the sole author of the offence. His Majesty had no reproach to make against the young king, who had always loved and honoured him; who, at the risk of his life, had desired to unite himself with a Bonaparte princess; who had hardly ascended the throne before he renewed this demand in writing; who, in spite of the refusal of the French representatives to recognise him as king, had arrived to solicit personally the favour of his Majesty's alliance, and to place himself at his disposal with the confidence worthy of a son. 'No suspicion, no fear restrained him; he had too high an idea of the justice and generosity of the hero whom he had always admired to feel the slightest distrust.'

The canon has here appended the following note:

I must warn my readers that this language was indispensable in order to get something out of this vain and ferocious man. The truth could only reach this hardened heart under the guise of flattery. I was at Bayonne, and I was dealing with an Attila. I need not say more.

And, continuing to address Napoleon:

Why should your Majesty fear from Ferdinand the slightest opposition to your august family and to your Empire, whose alliance is so necessary to Spain? And if the union which our young king desires to contract with an Imperial princess takes place, will that not bind him still more to the house of his wife? Will he not have for your Majesty the

sentiments of a good son, and for your family those of a devoted prince?

Napoleon.—You are telling me fairy tales, canon; you must well know that a woman is too feeble a bond to fix the policy of a prince, and that this bond is not to be compared to that which exists between princes of the same line of descent.[1]

Escoiquiz.—I hope your Majesty will not consider what I say an idle tale, and will condescend to reflect on the influence which a wife, full of merit and judgment, must exercise over a young king, especially when she knows how to join to her natural qualities that tact which is never wanting in her sex, above all when it is a question of defending the right. I speak thus frankly, sire, because I am not dealing with an ordinary monarch, from whom, if I were capable of disguising the truth, I might dissimulate my thoughts. Far from that, I have to deal with your Imperial Majesty, from whose penetration nothing escapes. Besides, it would be a want of tact on my part not to employ the utmost sincerity, and I can assure you that even if the projected marriage should not take place, the mild and pacific spirit of King Ferdinand should suffice to convince your Majesty that he will never abandon an alliance which affords him the protection of the only power capable of menacing his political existence. Besides, the views of the persons who surround the young monarch can only have the effect of confirming his dispositions.

Napoleon, having rejoined that he had little confidence in ministers who might be dismissed at any moment at the caprice of a favourite, Escoiquiz remarked that all the favourites in the world would not

[1] It is certain that the Bourbons (French, Spanish, and Italian) all held together with remarkable tenacity at the Congress of Vienna, and that but for their union Murat's position on the throne of Naples would not have been seriously menaced.

balance the influence of Ferdinand's wife, provided the marriage he desired was accomplished.

Napoleon.—At the present moment you are interested, canon, in exaggerating the strength of this influence, in which, to tell you the truth, I have little confidence.[1]

Escoiquiz.—I am not astonished, sire, that you should think differently from me on this subject ; but it seems to me that you judge of the character of other princes by your own, without reflecting that your Majesty is an exception to the rule—exception perhaps *unique* in this delicate matter, since you will certainly never yield to any influence but your genius.[2]

Napoleon.—Come, canon, these are *châteaux en Espagne* you are showing me. You cannot in good faith suppose that with the Bourbons on the throne I can count upon the same security as if the sceptre were in the hands of a member of my family. The latter might have some differences with me or my successors ; but he would never be a declared enemy, and would aid me in the event of my existence being menaced.

Escoiquiz.—Sire, without repeating the motives for confidence I have already mentioned, allow me to observe that as long as your Majesty reigns in France you will require no other guarantee for the fidelity of Spain than the preponderance of your genius and your strength, no matter whether a Bourbon or an Imperial prince occupies the throne. As for your successors, if they inherit (which will be difficult) all

[1] At St. Helena Napoleon expressed himself differently. At least, after relating how the Bourbons of Spain, on their knees, had solicited the hand of a French princess, and how he had, for personal motives, refused the Prince of Asturias the hand, first of Mdlle. Tascher, then of Mdlle. de la Rochefoucauld (both nieces of Josephine), he added—'What I required was a woman sincerely devoted to me, entirely French, with a strong mind, and talents equal to the position, and I was afraid of not finding such a person.' It was only a question of finding a proper woman.

[2] If the canon could have seen the letters written during the first Italian campaign !

the force of your genius and the power of your empire, they will enjoy the same security; if, on the contrary, they are ordinary men, they will have no more to dread from a Bourbon than from a member of your family. . . . The eyes of Europe are fixed upon you, and the result of the voyage of King Ferdinand is awaited with impatience. If your Majesty only consults your noble and magnanimous heart, Europe will no doubt applaud your generosity. The hostile powers, jealous of your glory, will see themselves forced to avow that you are as equitable towards your allies as you are terrible for your adversaries. In giving them this proof of your moderation you will diminish their jealousy, you will appease their hatred, and dissipate the fears they entertain for the loss of their own independence—fears unceasingly excited by England [1]—and you will defeat all the plots which that implacable enemy of France is hatching in order to unite once more all Europe against your Majesty.

Escoiquiz went on to allude to the attachment of the Spaniards to Ferdinand, to the matrimonial alliance, to the interest which Spain had to shake off the yoke of 'the tyrant of the seas,' adding that if the dynasty were changed Napoleon would excite the envy and hatred even of indifferent powers, alarmed for their own independence on seeing the fearful fate reserved for his most faithful ally, and at the same time he would furnish England with new weapons to perpetuate the war against his empire. These and other considerations were warmly and eloquently urged by the Spanish ecclesiastic.

[1] It was very crafty of the churchman to drag England into the discussion—England, who had defeated the combined Armada, and who in spite of Milan decrees, and Berlin decrees, and a strictly enforced continental blockade, refused to be buried beneath the weight of her unexported merchandise, to the great disgust of Napoleon, who found her frigates wherever it was damp, and Josephine and her maids of honour with English underclothing.

Napoleon.—You exaggerate the difficulties, canon; I fear nothing from the only power which could occasion me some uneasiness. The Emperor of Russia, to whom I communicated, at Tilsit, my projects towards Spain, approved of them, and pledged his word of honour not to oppose them. As for the other powers, they will take good care not to stir.[1] At all events, the resistance of the Spaniards will never be redoubtable. The great and rich, fearing to lose their property, will remain quiet, and will employ their influence in calming the people. The clergy and the monks, whom I shall render responsible for disorder, will also exert their influence, which you know is great, in the same direction. Believe me, canon, that a country in which there are many monks is easy to subdue. I have learned this by experience.[2]

Escoiquiz.—Sire, I respect the opinions of your Majesty, and recognise the inferiority of my political talents; but aware as I am of the character of my fellow-countrymen, I have the honour to warn your Majesty that the great, the rich, the clergy, and the monks, will be the first to give the people the example of sacrificing all they possess, and that the nation in a body will oppose the elevation of any other sovereign than Ferdinand.

Napoleon.—Supposing that to be as you say, I shall

[1] Austria stirred in 1809, and if she suffered severely she damaged both the strength and reputation of Napoleon, and eased the pressure on Spain. Rus ia, too, stirred, had to be attacked, and the disasters which followed obliged Napoleon to send for Escoiquiz, who had been detained a prisoner at Bourges, and to treat with him for the restoration of Ferdinand.

[2] Here the experience of Napoleon led him astray. He had no sooner assumed the command of the army in Spain, than he complained bitterly of the conduct of the Spaniards in opposing his benevolent intentions. He attributed this obstinacy in a great measure to the monks. 'They are the persons,' he petulantly exclaimed, speaking now in French and then in Italian, who 'lead you astray and deceive you. They are not better Catholics than I am; I have no intention of meddling with your religion. Your priests are paid by England,' &c.

always attain my end by sacrificing a couple of hundred thousand men; and I am far from thinking that the conquest of Spain will cost as much as that.[1]

Escoiquiz pointed out all the difficulties Napoleon would have to overcome, and told him that if he did conquer the country he would require 200,000 or 300,000 men to hold it, and that the new king would only reign over corpses and ruins, and the sad remnants of a desperate people worthy of a better fate. After such a war, of what utility would be the alliance of Spain? At present France, thanks to the alliance between the two countries, did a large trade with the Spanish colonies; but if the dynasty were changed, these colonies[2] would become the prey of England, and France would lose all her commercial advantages. The only power which would really benefit by the proposal of his Majesty would be England.

Napoleon.—Since you persist, canon, in taking this gloomy view, and as I do not agree with you in your calcu-

[1] The Peninsula proved a terrible drain on the resources of France. When Napoleon crossed the frontier there were seven army corps in the country, forming a total of 300,000 men, and this strength had to be kept up. What the French losses were will never be known, but what with Baylen, Saragossa, the lines of Torres Vedras, Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Albuera, Salamanca, Vittoria, &c., they must have been terrible. Spain, the French said, was a fiery furnace. However, we can hardly suppose that Napoleon told the canon that the conquest would only cost 200,000 men, for he so underrated the task before him that he thought at first Dupont's division would be able to subdue the country.

[2] And in fact England had greatly increased her colonial possessions at the expense of France and her tributaries. From France she had taken Martinique, Santa Lucia, and her Indian possessions; from Spain, Trinidad and Minorca; and from the Dutch, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Guiana.

lations, I have nothing to reply except that I will reflect on these matters, and will communicate to you to-morrow my irrevocable decision.

The next day Napoleon declared that his irrevocable decision was to deprive the Bourbons of their throne. It is true that the little Ximenes, as his Majesty called him, had his brief hour of triumph when he negotiated the restoration. The Emperor said afterwards, 'It must be acknowledged that if I had listened to some of the reasons advanced by Escoiquiz, and followed some of his ideas, it would have been all the better for me.' It is probable that the poor canon, afterwards treated with such base ingratitude by Ferdinand, never heard of this *mea maxima culpa* uttered at St. Helena.

A curious document recently published, entitled 'A report by Bonaparte on the political and military position of the armies of Piedmont and Spain,' shows that Napoleon, before he became intoxicated with supreme power, had sounder notions than when he discussed matters with Escoiquiz, respecting the danger of crossing the Pyrenees. Strange to say, this report is classed in the archives of the War Office as emanating from Robespierre, and it is in the handwriting of Junot. It sets forth among other things that 'it can never enter into any cool head to take Madrid,' and 'Germany must be smitten, but never Spain,' meaning that with Germany unconquered it would be too dangerous to invade the Peninsula. Napoleon had practical experience of the correctness of this view when in 1809 he found himself obliged to hurry away from Spain in order to confront the Archdukes Charles, Ferdinand, and John.

From what passed at Bayonne it may be doubted if Napoleon ever really intended to give Ferdinand the hand of Charlotte Bonaparte. The probability is, however, as Prince Metternich observed, that Charlotte was a second string to the Emperor's bow; and but for the misrepresentations of Murat concerning Spanish affairs, which led Napoleon completely astray, this second string, or another string, might have been used.

It is curious to remark that while Napoleon himself revealed his schemes to Ferdinand's favourite, he charged Savary to make a similar communication to Ferdinand. Perhaps 'the master of the world' felt some compunction about announcing in person to the royal victim he had just entrapped that he was no longer king; that the comedy was over and the tragedy about to commence.

For some time the unfortunate suitor for the hand of Charlotte Bonaparte refused to renounce the crown of Spain in exchange for the kingdom of Etruria, which had just been taken from his widowed sister and her infant son. He held out boldly against both his father, who retracted an abdication which he maintained had been forced upon him, and against Napoleon, into whose power the royal pair had fallen.

While the 'tragedy of Bayonne' was being enacted, the Emperor wrote to Murat, who was then master of Madrid, and who had obtained possession of the rest of the royal family—that is to say, of Don Francisco, Ferdinand's youngest brother, Don Antonio, his uncle and the Queen of Etruria and her children—to send them to Bayonne. Murat effected this departure, but not without some difficulty. The people of Madrid

were awakening to a true sense of the situation, and made some show of resistance. The Queen of Etruria was the first to get into her carriage with her children. She excited no sympathy in the crowd, being unpopular owing to her relations with Murat. But when it came to the turn of Don Francisco, and the report was spread that he was crying and refused to leave, the fury of the people exhibited itself, and Murat's aide-de-camp narrowly escaped being torn to pieces. The troops fired on the unarmed crowd, which quickly dispersed; a few isolated French soldiers were massacred, but serious resistance was impossible.

The last members of the royal family left Madrid on May 2, and on the same date, in a further letter to Murat, Napoleon announced his intention of placing Joseph on the throne. He wrote: 'I intend the King of Naples to reign at Madrid. (Louis had enough of sham royalty.) I wish to give you either the kingdom of Naples or that of Portugal [the poor Queen of Etruria, having been kidnapped, was no longer to receive any compensation]. Answer immediately, and tell me what you think, for all this must be arranged in a day.'

On May 5 Charles IV. and Napoleon assailed Ferdinand with violent menaces, threatening to hold him responsible for the insurrection at Madrid unless he immediately laid down the crown. 'If,' said Napoleon, 'before midnight you have not recognised your father as your legitimate sovereign, you shall be treated as a rebel.' And it is even said that the Emperor held out a threat of capital punishment, which so terrified Ferdinand, who no doubt recalled the fate of the Duc d'Enghien, that he yielded.

On May 6, at 10 A.M., Napoleon wrote to Murat, saying: 'I enclose a copy of the letter which I have received from the Prince of Asturias.' This letter, which was enclosed in an order to 'place the arsenal and two palaces of Madrid in a state of defence,' ran thus:—

Sire, my venerable Lord and Father,—In order to give your Majesty a proof of my love, obedience, and submission, and to yield to a desire several times expressed, I renounce my crown in favour of your Majesty, hoping that you will enjoy it for many long years, &c. Done at Bayonne, May 6, 1808. I throw myself at the feet of your royal Majesty.

The most humble of your sons,

FERDINAND.

The Prince of Asturias having renounced the crown in favour of his father, Charles IV. made it over to Napoleon in exchange for the châteaux of Chambord and Compiègne, and a civil list of thirty millions of reals.[1] Ferdinand in exchange for his rights was to receive the château of Navarre,[2] with a revenue of 400,000 francs and a life income of 600,000 francs. Napoleon thus acquired Spain and her colonies for 10,000,000 francs a year, *which sum was to be paid by Spain.* If Charles and Ferdinand now and then complained about not receiving their allowances, they had only their own country to blame for resisting their arrangements with the usurper.

[1] In the letter of abdication which Charles IV. addressed to Napoleon he expressed himself in the following extraordinary terms: 'In order to give a proof of our solicitude for the welfare of our faithful subjects, we have ceded all our rights to our friend and ally, the Emperor of the French,' &c.

[2] This château was afterwards given to Josephine.

Spain and her colonies for 400,000*l.* per annum appeared a good bargain; but there was so much difficulty about taking possession that Napoleon more than once returned to his primitive idea of a matrimonial alliance, as a means of escaping from his embarrassments. He soon found out into what a hornet's nest he had plunged, and that Spanish monks could gird on the sword to resist the invader.[1]

After their capture, Ferdinand, his brother, and his uncle were sent to the château of Valençay with an escort of honour composed of eighty *gendarmes*. Valençay was the property of Talleyrand. Like Cardinal Fesch, the ex-Bishop of Autun had managed to feather his nest. The letter which Napoleon wrote to the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs on the subject of the princes was very characteristic. He said: 'I desire that the princes may be received at Valençay without any external show, but honestly, and that you do all in your power to amuse them. There would be no harm in sending for some comedians if you have a theatre at Valençay. Madame de Talleyrand and four or five ladies might also remain at the château. There will be no inconvenience should the Prince of Asturias fall in love with a pretty woman, especially if she can be depended upon. It is of the greatest importance that the Prince of Asturias should not commit any blunder. It would perhaps have been good policy to have shut him up in Bitche or some

[1] In one of his bulletins published in the *Moniteur*, when he was in Spain—that is to say, in November 1808—Napoleon spoke of the Bishop of Santander, who had published a pastoral against the French full of dignity and eloquence, as 'a furious and fanatical man, animated by the spirit of the demon, and always marching with a cutlass by his side.'

other fortress; but as he threw himself into my arms (?) and has promised to do nothing without my orders, and as everything is going on in Spain as well as I could desire, I have determined to send him to a country seat, and to surround him with *pleasures and supervision.* Let this arrangement last during the month of May and a portion of June, and then I shall see what is best to be done. To receive in your château three illustrious personages in order to amuse them, is in conformity with the character of the nation and the rank you hold' [that of chamberlain].

M. Lanfrey thinks this was a piece of malice on the part of Napoleon, who was as spiteful as an imp. M. Thiers is of a contrary opinion, and says that Talleyrand was well rewarded for his services. However this may be, the above was a curious letter to write to a statesman who was afterwards accused of having advised Napoleon to put both Charles IV. and Ferdinand to death! Las Cases, in the 'Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène,' alludes to this episode as a trick played upon Talleyrand for having presumed to say some sharp and disagreeable things about the Spanish affair. We wonder if Talleyrand, in the famous memoirs which are some day to be published, will satisfy our curiosity with a detailed account of this grotesque incident! That Napoleon should have insisted on the presence of Madame de Talleyrand at Valençay, was a piece of meddling in private affairs habitual to him.[1]

[1] It was in 1806 that Talleyrand acquired the château of Valençay, under rather singular circumstances, which the Duchess de Dino has related. She says that one day the Emperor made minute enquiries as

Ferdinand had hardly reached his destination when he received the following letter from Napoleon, dated from Bayonne, May 14, 1808 :—

I have received the letter which your Highness wrote to me on the 10th May. The treaty which has been signed having removed all difficulties between us, I accede to your demand, and as soon as possible we will conclude the marriage which you desire to contract with one of my nieces. I hope that you will find happiness in this union, and myself a new motive for interesting myself in all that concerns you.

NAPOLEON

A week before this letter was written, Joseph Bonaparte had been elected King of Spain by Spanish delegates at Bayonne ; and a week after it, Dupont,

to the style of life which the Duc de Choiseul led at Chanteloup before his exile. Struck by the state which that minister had kept up, and the amount of splendour shed by this luxury on the king and the country, Napoleon desired that his Minister of Foreign Affairs should also have a fine château in which to receive foreigners of distinction. He expressed this desire to Talleyrand, and said: 'I want you to purchase a large property where you will receive the diplomatic corps and foreigners of distinction. Let sovereigns and ambassadors be anxious to visit you, and regard an invitation as a recompense, and I shall be pleased.' M. de Luçay, present at the conversation, being in straitened circumstances, proposed Valençay. The price was too high, but the greater portion of the purchase money was made up by the Emperor, who wished to be agreeable both to Talleyrand and M. de Luçay. It was owing to this that Napoleon considered he had some right to dispose of the château without the consent of its proprietor. Discontented with the wise opposition he met with on the occasion of his fatal expedition to Spain, Napoleon appeared to take pleasure in annoying his ex-minister in the details of his private life. Hence he sent Ferdinand VII. and the infants of Spain to Valençay, where they passed six years. Ferdinand, we are told, always looked back with pleasure to his captivity, and on his return to Spain instituted an order of Valençay, named a regiment of his guard and also a frigate Valençay. The château, which is a splendid specimen of Renaissance architecture, still remains in the Talleyrand family.

with 25,000 men, was forced to capitulate at Baylen. The Peninsular campaign opened for the French in the most gloomy manner. No such disaster as that which overtook Dupont had before befallen the Imperial army, and it is not astonishing that Napoleon in his rage wished to have the unfortunate general tried by court-martial and shot.[1] In Portugal, too, matters had gone wrong. The French troops had been beaten at Rolica and Vimiera, and Junot had been obliged to sign the capitulation of Cintra, which, if not humiliating, was none the less a reverse. Under these circumstances, Napoleon acted wisely in keeping Ferdinand in reserve, and in not breaking off with him entirely. He would not object to a little flirtation at Valençay under the supervision of his grand chamberlain and Madame de Talleyrand, who, as evil tongues in Paris said, seconded the intentions of the Emperor in a manner which greatly exceeded the desire of her husband; but no blunder was to be committed. In the meantime, Ferdinand was no longer to address Napoleon as 'my brother,' or even as 'my cousin,' but simply as 'sire.' Can Napoleon, at St. Helena, have remembered these instructions when fretting and fuming at being deprived of his own Imperial title?

To judge from his letters, the French Emperor persisted for some time in believing that affairs were progressing favourably in Spain, and no more promises were made to his captive. He paid little attention to the gloomy vaticinations of Joseph, who had

[1] General Dupont, a gallant soldier, a poet, and a gentleman, escaped capital punishment, and lived to be War Minister under the Restoration.

only been a week in the country when he wrote to say that it would require 100,000 permanent scaffolds to enable a foreign prince to reign over the Spaniards. Napoleon, in fact, had committed the error of supposing that if Madrid were once in his hands, the rest of the country would submit. He reasoned after his experience of Berlin and Vienna. He afterwards found that when he occupied Madrid he occupied the city alone, and that the pulse of the country continued to beat as vigorously as ever after the capital had fallen into the hands of the invader.

On July 18 Joseph informed his brother that he was not aware of the truth; that he found hatred and distrust depicted on every face. 'Fear,' he told Napoleon, 'does not make me see double. Since my arrival in Spain I say to myself every day, my life is nothing, and I abandon it to you. . . . I am not terrified at my position, but it is *unique* in history. I have not a single partisan here.'

On July 29 Napoleon determined to start for Spain himself. He announced his intention of planting his eagles on the forts of Lisbon. He was intent on capturing the English army. On November 3 he was once more at Bayonne, and a few days afterwards he crossed the frontier. Everywhere his armies committed the most frightful excesses, pillaging churches and convents, and putting up the sacred vessels to auction. Joseph remonstrated in vain. In what Napoleon called a 'decree of amnesty,' he ordered the large properties owned by Spanish grandees in Naples and Belgium to be confiscated. Ten of the most opulent grandees were declared traitors to France, and ordered to be tried by court-

martial and shot. As in the case of the Duc d'Enghien, Moreau, Hofer, Palm,[1] Dupont, and others, he indicated to his tribunals the verdict and the sentence he expected from them. Everything was done to increase that spirit of hatred and revenge which had been awakened in Spain, and not only the people but the governing classes, on whose connivance Napoleon had counted, were driven to despair. In November Napoleon beat the Spanish army at Burgos, Spinosa, and Tudela, or rather committed three massacres. The latter affair took place on the 23rd, and Ferdinand is said to have written with his own hand to Napoleon to congratulate him on his victory, at the same time repeating 'his solicitation for a matrimonial alliance with the House of Bonaparte.' Some of the Imperial councillors, says Lord Holland, who relates this anecdote, 'wished Napoleon to publish this letter in the "Moniteur," with the hope of disgusting the enthusiastic partisans of Ferdinand by revealing the baseness of their chief; but the Emperor observed that not only the knowledge of the transaction might hereafter be inconvenient [still further ruin Ferdinand in the estimation of Charlotte Bonaparte], but the immediate object of the publication would be defeated by the very baseness which they hoped to expose. It was so bad that it would be disbelieved and imputed as a forgery to him, the Emperor. He suppressed it.'

Having suppressed this shameful letter, and en-

[1] Concerning Palm, Napoleon wrote thus to Berthier on Nov. 5, 1806, 'My cousin, I suppose that you have had the booksellers of Augsburg and Nuremberg arrested. My intention is that they be brought before a court-martial and shot within twenty-four hours.' Palm was shot for the crime of selling a pamphlet by Gentz.

tered Madrid, which was feebly defended, Napoleon, feeling uncomfortable in a capital which showed itself intractable, took up his residence at Chamartin, the country house of the Duke of Infantado,[1] and, dissatisfied with Joseph, and furious with the Spanish people for failing to appreciate the various blessings in store for them, issued a proclamation, dated December 7, 1808. In this proclamation he declared that if the Spaniards 'did not respond to his confidence,' it would only remain for him to place his brother on another throne; that he would put the crown of Spain on his own head, and cause the wicked to respect him; for God had given him the will and the force to surmount all obstacles.

In January 1809 Napoleon was obliged to leave Spain without having accomplished his designs, and he returned to Paris in a detestable humour, finding on his arrival that a great change had taken place in the temper of the people. The fact is that the life-blood of the country was being wasted in a useless, wanton, and aggressive war. There were no less than eight army corps employed in the Peninsula; the 1st commanded by Marshal Victor; the 2nd by Soult; the 3rd by Moncey, then by Lannes, then by Junot, and finally by Suchet; the 4th by Lefebvre, and then by Sebastiani; the 5th by Mortier; the 6th by

[1] In Napoleon's military correspondence is to be found a letter dated St. Cloud, April 1, 1808, in which he says to Murat:—'I suppose my guard will reach Madrid before April 10. My horses, the detachments of my household, and my kitchen, ought also to have started. *Il faut placer tout cela où je dois loger.* I do not know if the Prado, which is the country house of the King of Spain, is large enough for me; if it be not large enough, it will perhaps be better for me to go to the Escurial.'

Ney; the 7th by Gouvion St. Cyr, and then by Augereau; the 8th by Junot, and then by Massena. Marmont, too, and Jourdan, and other soldiers of high reputation, were employed in Spain, where very few laurels were reaped.

When at St. Helena, Napoleon often regretted that he had not pursued his first plan, and remained satisfied with allying himself by marriage to Ferdinand, as he might have done in spite of the naughty letters and the resistance of Lucien's daughter. He said himself—'That unfortunate war was my ruin, for it divided my forces, opened a school for the English soldiers, and attacked my morality in Europe. I embarked very badly in that affair. The immorality was too patent, the injustice too cynical, and the attempt is only seen at present in its hideous nudity, deprived of all that was grandiose, and the numerous benefits I intended to confer.'

The Emperor was never able to return to Spain. He had too much to do with Austria and Russia. In 1810, finding the drain on his resources too great, he would fain have come to terms; but it was too late. He sued for peace, as the following letter shows:—

Champagny, Duc de Cadore, by order of Napoleon, to M. le Comte de Laforest, Ambassador of France at Madrid.

Paris: November 7, 1810.

Sir,—The Emperor, at Bayonne, assembled the Spanish nation and presented one of his brothers as king. The Spanish nation, through its deputies, took the oath of obedience to him. Believing that he had rallied the majority of the nation, his Majesty treated with the King of Spain. Since then the entire Spanish nation has rushed to

arms. The king [Joseph], driven from his capital, has had all Spain against him, and has simply been general of the French armies. During this state of affairs, his Majesty entered Madrid by force. Since then, several battles have been fought. Andalusia, and even Seville, have been conquered by the French army; but for all that, no Spaniard has rallied round the king, no Spanish forces have struggled against the insurrection, and 400,000 Frenchmen, alone, have had to conquer all the provinces, the forts, and the villages. Spain belongs to the Emperor by right of conquest, &c.

And this being the deplorable state of affairs, the Emperor offered to cancel the treaty of Bayonne, and under certain conditions, such as the expulsion of the English, to recognise the integrity of Spain.

Three months before this attempt to open up negotiations was made, Napoleon, according to Comte Miot de Melito, the intimate friend and adviser of King Joseph, must have made another effort to conclude a marriage. He says that when Ferdinand was at Valençay, the Emperor wished to make the match, and on Charlotte Bonaparte declaring she would never give her hand to a parricide, the Emperor retorted, 'in that case you have nothing left but to go to America'; and in fact Lucien started for the United States, but was captured by an English frigate and taken to England. This was in August 1810. The Count adds—

On the niece of Napoleon refusing to give her hand to Ferdinand, the Emperor took it into his head to marry him to a princess of the House of Austria [in April of that year he had himself married Marie Louise], but this plan failed like the former. Both prove that the Emperor was inclined to reseat Ferdinand on the throne; . . . he counted upon

more deference on the part of Ferdinand than he could expect from his brother, who was strongly opposed to any dismemberment of the country (!). In addition to this, the abdication of the King of Holland, who, impatient at the yoke imposed by the Emperor, had voluntarily descended from his throne, made Napoleon fear that Joseph would imitate his example.

Whatever truth there may be in this story, and allowing that Comte Miot de Melito may have mixed several incidents up together, three things are clear: 1st, that Napoleon wished to escape from his Spanish difficulties by uniting Ferdinand with a relative or adopted daughter; 2nd, that he behaved with great duplicity towards his brother Joseph; 3rd, that his attempt to open up negotiations with the Junta failed, the Spanish nation having determined, with the aid of the English, to drive his legions out of the country. It was at this period that he wrote a despatch to Davoust which contained the subjoined curious reflexions. Davoust had been complaining of the difficulty of maintaining himself at Hamburg:—

. . . There is nothing in common between Spain and Germany. Spain would have been reduced long ago without the 60,000 English, without her 1,000 leagues of coast—so that our armies are always on the frontier—and without the 100 millions furnished by America; for England is not in a position to grant money. But as in Germany there is no America, no sea, no large number of strong places, and no 60,000 English, there is nothing to fear even if the German were as lazy, as idle, as 'assassin,' as superstitious, and as much given over to priests, as the people of Spain, where there are 300,000 monks. Judge then of what is to be feared from a people so kind, so reasonable, so cold, so tolerant, so removed from all excesses, that there is not an

example of a single man having been assassinated during the war in Germany.

There is nothing to show that Napoleon really contemplated a marriage between Ferdinand and an Austrian princess, although the matter is quite possible. Prince Metternich says that at this period he was sounded by M. de Laborde with regard to a marriage between the Imperial Prince of Austria and Lucien's daughter, but that the match was declined.

Matters continued to go badly with Napoleon, and in 1812 came that disastrous Russian campaign which did so much to ruin his reputation as an invincible general with whom it were useless to contend. The Peninsula still continued to drain France of blood and treasure, and in allusion to this de Maistre says the Czar was advised to build a chapel in honour of 'Our Lady of Succour of Spain.' Leipsic, and other disasters, such as the defeats of Salamanca and Vittoria, fell on the Imperial arms, and Joseph was driven across the Pyrenees. What was Napoleon to do in this extremity? After having sent Joseph back to Mortfontaine, should he make his prisoner of Valençay king once more? In his eyes Ferdinand was a hostage; an instrument which might still be turned to account. If he dealt with the son of Charles IV., could he count upon engagements contracted in prison being carried out? The faithlessness of Ferdinand was well known. Would his undertakings be ratified by the Junta? Such were the problems which perplexed the Imperial mind at this eventful moment. After long consideration, Napoleon determined to send Laforest, who had left Madrid with

Joseph, with a letter to Ferdinand, conceived in these terms :—

'My Cousin,—The political circumstances in which my empire finds itself impose upon me the duty of settling Spanish affairs. England unceasingly stirs up anarchy and Jacobinism in the Peninsula, being desirous of suppressing the monarchy and the nobility in order to establish a republic!'

Under these distressing circumstances, the Emperor expressed the wish to treat with Ferdinand for his restoration, and to a communication to this effect Ferdinand replied on November 21, 1813, and the reply was worthy of the demand :—

Sire [wrote the captive], I feel highly flattered at the honour paid to me by your Imperial Majesty, and the desire to treat with me in order to terminate the misfortunes of Spain. I am always under the tutelage of your Imperial Majesty, for whose person I profess both love and respect, but I can do nothing without the consent of the Spanish nation. Your Imperial Majesty would do better to endeavour to come to terms with the Regency. I have spent five years and a half here very pleasantly, and would willingly pass the remainder of my life at Valençay.

This letter, which, if sincere, would show that Talleyrand had managed to amuse Ferdinand, was not at all to the taste of the Imperial jailor, who proceeded to get round the Duke of San Carlos, one of Ferdinand's most trusted adherents, who was then living in exile at Lons le Saulnier, and in the end the treaty of Valençay was drawn up between the French Emperor on one side, and King Ferdinand, his brother Don Carlos, and his uncle Don Antonio, on the other.

By this treaty peace was concluded between France and Spain, and the French Emperor recognised Don Ferdinand and his successors as Kings of Spain and the Indies. He also engaged to respect the integrity of Spanish territory as it existed before the war. The provinces occupied by the French troops were to be restored. Ferdinand, on his side, pledged himself to maintain the integrity of his territories and islands, and to cause his provinces and islands to be evacuated by British troops. A military convention was to be concluded for the simultaneous evacuation of Spanish territory by France and England. Ferdinand was to pay Charles IV. the sum of 30,000,000 reals a year, and on the king's death to allow 2,000,000 francs to the queen.

The Spaniards who had served King Joseph were not to be molested.

Such were the chief stipulations of the treaty concluded at Valençay on December 11, 1813, and to these there was added a secret article by which, says M. St. Hilaire, Ferdinand engaged himself to marry King Joseph's eldest daughter; but this matter appears to have been quietly dropped, as it soon became evident that the match would never be sanctioned by the Cortes. Napoleon had very little faith from the first in the solidity of his treaty, and as for Ferdinand, he sent the Duke of San Carlos to Spain before the signature was dry, to say that as soon as he crossed the Pyrenees he would declare it null and void, as it had been torn from him by violence.

The treaty of Valençay was no doubt the work of Talleyrand; for after the defeat of Leipsic, Napoleon,

speaking of the ill success of the war in Spain, asked him for his advice. Talleyrand replied that there was only one thing to be done. 'Say boldly you committed an error when you began the war, that your idea was to deliver Spain from the yoke of an odious minister [to whom he had given a slice of Portugal], and a feeble monarch; that you now perceive the Spaniards, although enlightened with regard to the conduct of their king, are not less firmly attached to his dynasty, and that you will restore him in order that you may not be accused of opposing the will of the nation. After this declaration, restore King Ferdinand to liberty, and withdraw your troops.'

According to Las Cases, the following is Napoleon's own account of this affair, which was certainly the chief cause of his downfall, not merely on account of the losses incurred in Spain itself, but because, as a French writer has remarked, the check in front of the lines of Torres Vedras made the French army rebound to Moscow, in the hope of recovering in Russia the prestige it had lost in Portugal. Napoleon said—

The old king and queen were at this time hated and despised by their subjects. The Prince of Asturias conspired against them, caused them to abdicate, and became the pride and hope of the nation. However, this nation was ripe for great changes, and loudly demanded them. I was very popular there. It was under such circumstances that all these personages were assembled at Bayonne. The old king demanded vengeance against his son; the young king solicited my protection against his father, and demanded a wife. I determined to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to rid myself of this branch of the Bourbons, to continue in my own dynasty the system of the family of

Louis XIV., and to chain the destiny of Spain to that of France [Louis XIV. having failed to accomplish this]. Ferdinand was sent to Valençay, the old king to Compiègne, and my brother Joseph went to reign at Madrid, with a liberal constitution which had been adopted by a Junta of the Spanish nation at Bayonne.

It is laughable to find Napoleon in another conversation with Las Cases, abusing and criticising Lord Castlereagh for acknowledging Bernadotte instead of Gustavus IV., the legitimate King of Sweden, and the usurper Ferdinand to the detriment of his venerable father Charles IV.

The Emperor went on to say that Ferdinand was so happy at Valençay that he refused to attempt to escape, and denounced an Irishman, a *Baron de Colli*, who had been sent by George III. to carry him off.

'When circumstances became difficult for us in Spain,' added his Majesty, 'I proposed more than once to Ferdinand to go back and reign over his people, telling him that we would fight it out fairly, and that fate would decide between us.'

'No,' replied the prince, who seems to have been wisely counselled, 'my country is disturbed by political troubles, I should only complicate matters, and should probably lose my head on the scaffold. I remain. If you will accord me your protection and the support of your arms I will go, and be your faithful ally.'

'Afterwards, when our disasters came, towards the end of 1813, I accepted this proposition, and the marriage of Ferdinand with the eldest daughter of Joseph was agreed to; but things had changed, and Ferdinand asked that the marriage might be adjourned.'

'"You can no longer accord me the support of your troops," he said, "and I should not take a wife who would be disagreeable in the eyes of my people;" and he set out with

the best intentions of keeping his word, to which he remained faithful until the events of Fontainebleau.'

Las Cases gravely adds, that had affairs turned out differently in 1814, Ferdinand, the Emperor assured him, would have married the eldest daughter of Joseph [then thirteen years of age] in due time.

When Napoleon conceived the idea of this match, he no doubt had in his mind the double union of 1612. In that year Villeroi, the Foreign Minister of the Regent, Marie de Medicis, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, the ambassador of Philip III., concluded a formal treaty for the union of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, the eldest daughter of the King of Spain, and of the Infant of Spain, who afterwards became Philip IV., with the Princess Elizabeth of France, the sister of the French monarch. This treaty, which bound each power to aid the other in case of necessity, and these marriages, were anything but popular in France, because, although the majority of the people in France was Catholic, its Catholicism differed essentially from that of Spain ; it refused to acknowledge certain clauses of the Council of Trent ; it maintained a large measure of national, political, and moral independence, the separation of the temporal from the spiritual power, and the inviolability of the former. Spain, in fact, was what was called a *pays soumis*, and the French, with all their religious wars, had no idea of blind submission to the Church.

It is pleasant to find that at St. Helena Napoleon rather regretted not having followed the advice which Escoiquiz gave him on the evening of their interview at Bayonne, when he tried to persuade the Emperor not to dethrone the Bourbons, from whom he had nothing

to dread. Napoleon also declared to Las Cases that he had taken no part in the court intrigues in Spain; that he had kept word with Charles IV. and Ferdinand; that he had broken no engagement with either; that he had employed no falsehood to coax them to Bayonne; that his sole desire was to regenerate a noble people, to detach Spain from England, and to unite her to the French system, *id est*, the continental blockade. He had employed no perfidy, and if he had sinned it was through 'audacious frankness and excess of energy.' Godoi, the Prince of the Peace, he added, had offered him, in the name of Charles IV., to make the conquest of Portugal, and, on the other hand, the Prince of Asturias had written to him, unknown to his father, to demand a wife and to implore his protection. Then Napoleon declared Escoiquiz [whose advice he regretted not having followed] to have been the veritable author of all the ills of Spain.

Napoleon bitterly complained (as if comparison were possible) that he was not treated at St. Helena as he had treated the Pope at Fontainebleau and the Spanish princes at Valençay, where, as he remarked, they hunted, gave balls, and physically did not feel their chains.

According to Napoleon, 'Marie Louise conceived the greatest affection for the Duchess de Montebello (the widow of Marshal Lannes), who might have become Queen of Spain. In imitation of the Prince of Baden, who had married Mdlle. de Beauharnais, Ferdinand, when at Valençay, demanded the hand of Mdlle. Tascher, Josephine's niece. Afterwards Ferdinand demanded the hand of the Duchess de Monte-

bello or any other French lady the Emperor would adopt.'

Speaking at another moment of the difficulties he encountered in Spain, the exiled Emperor said: 'The royal family were at my feet, begging me to adopt some one in order to make her Princess of Asturias. They demanded Mdlle. Tascher. Personal reasons made me refuse. At one moment I thought of Mdlle. de la Rochefoucauld, afterwards Princess Aldobrandini, but I wanted some one really attached to me—a woman who would have been entirely French, with a good head, with talents on a par with her destiny; and I was afraid of not finding all I required.'

Such is the version of the Spanish marriages which one finds in the 'Memorial of St. Helena.'

It would be idle to refute these assertions, which are so opposed to facts, but with regard to the statement that no deception was practised on Ferdinand, we may relate the following anecdote, taken from the Memoirs of Baron de Bausset, one of Napoleon's secretaries, who preceded his Majesty to Bayonne—an anecdote which shows that Ferdinand fully expected to find Charlotte Bonaparte at Bayonne:—'When near Bordeaux,' says the Baron, 'I met the Count de Fernan Nunez, who had been sent forward to compliment the Emperor, to announce Ferdinand's advent to the throne, and to see with his own eyes the niece of his Majesty, who was to become Queen of Spain. I declared that there was no niece, that he was mistaken, and in order to convince him of his error I showed him a list of the persons composing the Imperial cortège, but I saw by his eyes that he simply considered I was not in the secret.'

The Baron tells another anecdote which shows a little perfidy on both sides, and which may account for Napoleon refusing to place faith in the Spanish Bourbons, even should the Prince of Asturias marry Charlotte Bonaparte. He relates that while at Bayonne Napoleon intercepted a letter which Ferdinand had addressed to his uncle Don Antonio, who had been left in charge of the kingdom. The Baron was directed to translate this letter, and great was the rage of the Emperor when he found it contained this phrase:—'Govern well, and take every precaution against those accursed Frenchmen.' Napoleon could hardly believe his eyes, and it was only after comparing the translation with the original, that he was convinced Ferdinand had really written of the French in these terms while engaged in negotiating with him, and while living under his roof.

The Queen of Etruria, whose name frequently occurs in the foregoing pages, and who was certainly a most forlorn and ill-treated princess, has left behind her memoirs in which her sufferings are duly recorded. They are chiefly interesting as showing with what brutality Napoleon was capable of treating a defenceless lady when she was no longer necessary to his system. The princess was married before she was fourteen years of age, and appears to have been happy enough until Napoleon conceived the idea of creating her husband King of Etruria. We have seen how the young sovereigns were ordered to pass through Paris on their road to Florence, just to see if the French people would massacre them or not. The king, while in Paris, contracted an illness, from which he shortly afterwards died. On arriving at Florence, their Ma-

jesties found the palace had been plundered, 'and the King of Spain's daughter, accustomed to gold and silver, was obliged to eat off earthenware.' After the death of her husband the queen became regent, and she goes on to relate how she was at her country house, in 1807, when M. d'Aubusson de la Feuillade called upon her and said he had a most painful mission to perform; he was charged to announce to her Majesty the agreement entered into between France and Spain, which transferred her states to Napoleon. The queen, on hearing the declaration read, fainted. She withdrew to Spain with her son, King Louis, little foreseeing the great catastrophe which menaced her august family. 'On February 18, 1808,' she writes, 'we arrived at the palace of Aranjuez, and after having enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing once more my parents and my brothers, I asked for some information concerning the treaty. They replied that they had been deceived, and that no treaty existed. I felt as if I had been struck by lightning on the discovery of this horrible treason.' The queen wished to return to Tuscany, and received the permission of her brother to do so after the abdication of her father; 'but by a second treason he was inveigled to Bayonne, and we were forced to follow him. I left Madrid on May 3, being hardly well of the measles. I was ignorant of what had passed, and the first words which my parents addressed to me at Bayonne were, "You must know, my daughter, that our family has ceased for ever to reign." At these words I thought I should have expired. I took leave of my parents, and retired to my chamber, more dead than alive. Bonaparte being at Bayonne, I demanded permission

to see him, in the hope of opening negotiations for my return to Tuscany, but the answer was a very blunt No. I then tried to obtain the restitution of Parma, but this was refused. At length, while employing every means I could imagine to recover at least the two states which belonged to us, and of which we had been robbed by the blackest stratagem, the fatal and unexpected treaty of Bayonne transpired, by which a sum of 400,000 francs a year was accorded to Charles IV. in return for the kingdom of Spain. My brothers, Ferdinand and Don Carlos, with my uncle Don Antonio, were sent to Valençay. My parents, my youngest brother, and myself and children started for Fontainebleau.' Thence a move was made to Compiègne. After soliciting Napoleon for a long time, the queen obtained permission to go to Parma and to reside at the palace of Calorno; but when she reached Lyons her hotel was surrounded by gendarmes, and she was ordered to go to Nice. Here she attempted to escape from the tyranny of Napoleon, and for this grave offence was sent to a monastery at Rome with her daughters, while her son was taken from her and confided to her father and mother. She complains that they were forced to travel night and day, being treated with the greatest brutality by the commissioner who accompanied them. They were also exposed to the insults of the population, who only saw some women in a carriage followed by a police officer. After ten days Rome was reached, 'and when we arrived at the monastery,' says her Majesty, 'we were received by the prior, a simple citizen, and neither bed, supper, nor chamber had been prepared for the Queen of Etruria and her daughters.' At the

monastery the queen's jewels were taken from her, and she was allowed 100*l.* a month to live upon. She remained almost in solitary confinement in this prison for two years and a half, and her health suffered to such an extent that she would certainly have died had not a change of government occurred by which she regained her liberty, but not her throne.

Such was the manner in which Napoleon treated a princess who at one time styled herself the eldest daughter of the Emperor. As she dolefully remarked, 'I asked him for a husband, and he shut me up in a monastery.'

Prince Lucien by his first marriage had issue Charlotte, who in the end married Prince Mario Gabrielli, and Christine Egypta, who gave her hand first to Count Avred Posse, a Swede, who turned out a lunatic, and, having obtained a divorce, to Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart. The following were by his second marriage:—Prince Charles Lucien, who succeeded his father, colonel of the Republic of St. Marino, member of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, &c. &c., married Zenaide, the eldest daughter of Prince Joseph; Lætitia, who, to the disappointment of Madame Mère, married Sir Thomas Wyse, of Waterford; Paul, who was killed by an accident on board Lord Cochrane's flag-ship; Jeanne, who married the Marquis Honorati; Lucien, born at Thorngrove in 1813; Pierre, born at Rome in 1815; Antoine, born at Frescati 1816; Marie, who married Viscount Valentini; Constance, who took the veil at an early age.

By his marriage Prince Charles Lucien had eight children, to wit—Joseph, who died young; Lucien,

who was created a cardinal in 1868; Napoleon, who served in the French army, and married Marie Ruspoli; Julie, who married the Marquis de Roccagiovine; Charlotte, who became Countess Primoli; Augusta, who bestowed her hand on Prince Placide Gabrielli; Marie, who is now Countess Campello; and Bathilde, who married Comte Cambacérès.

Lætitia by her marriage had issue; but the marriage turned out unhappy, and a separation took place.

The story goes that Prince Lucien, who has since earned renown in literature and science, was married in his hot youth to a Roman woman, for whose hand he and Pierre tossed up, and that Pierre had to threaten violence before the priest would perform the ceremony. The family wished to have this marriage annulled, but Lucien resisted. Under the second Empire, however, he would have fain obtained a dissolution, but Napoleon III. would only apply to the Pope for relief on the condition of Prince Lucien marrying a lady of his choice, and to this Prince Lucien refused to consent.

Prince Pierre, a man of extremely violent passions, married only under the second Empire, when, to the great annoyance of Napoleon III., he took for wife a sempstress of the unprepossessing name of Riffin. As the first Napoleon endeavoured to prevent the second marriage of his brother Lucien, so Napoleon III. tried to prevent that of his cousin Pierre; but Pierre, like Lucien, succeeded in evading the vigilance of the head of the family, and had his nuptials, both civil and religious, solemnised in the little town of Lacuisine, which lay in the neutral Luxembourg country.

The French Emperor, however, on the strength of the Senatus Consultum of the year XII., declared this marriage null, and wherever the prince turned in order to get a legal marriage performed he was met by some French ambassador or consul who forbade the banns. In spite of threats of loss of pension, &c., Prince Pierre imitated his father, and gallantly held to his wife, who had nothing against her but her humble origin. Instead of belonging to the Faubourg St. Germain, she belonged to the Faubourg St. Antoine. Napoleon III. forgot that the Queen Hortense had once lived by her needle. On the fall of the second Empire matters were so bad that the Princess Pierre Bonaparte opened a milliner's shop in London, and in November 1871, a new, and this time a valid marriage, was performed at the French Legation at Brussels, to which no opposition was offered. This wedding, according to French law, legitimatised children born previously.

On November 17, 1880, Prince Roland Bonaparte, the eldest son of Prince Pierre, a lieutenant in the 36th regiment of infantry, was joined in holy matrimony to a wealthy heiress, one of the daughters of the late M. Blanc, of Monaco. The sister of the Princess Roland married Prince Radzivil. Had Prince Lucien not been cut off from the line of succession, Prince Roland would now be the chief of the House of Bonaparte.

The story of the Spanish marriages in the days of Napoleon I. would be incomplete without a few concluding remarks on the subject of Ferdinand. There can be little doubt that Charlotte Bonaparte acted wisely in refusing him, and in marrying Prince Mario

Gabrielli. Napoleon often admitted that Ferdinand was both stupid and malevolent, and such was the general opinion formed of his character, both before and after the Napoleonic period. According to Lord Holland, who saw Charles IV. and the ex-Queen of Spain at Rome in 1814, and heard from their lips the story of their son's baseness and treachery, Ferdinand was 'more unwarlike than James I., more perfidious than either Charles, and more arbitrary and cruel than James II.' This was the husband which Napoleon had selected for his niece.

The courtships and marriages of Ferdinand were numerous enough. In addition to the matrimonial designs already alluded to, several others may be mentioned, showing he was never inconsolable.

Lord Holland relates that Urquijo, when he was minister, endeavoured to effect a marriage between the Prince of Asturias and a Princess of Saxony, with whom a large dowry was expected—the same princess, by the way, whose union with the Emperor of Austria was opposed by Napoleon lest he himself should require her hand. 'The king and queen,' continues Lord Holland, 'were brought to acquiesce in the design, but the old elector had scruples [was at first more scrupulous than Prince Lucien] about sending his daughter to so immoral a court. He was afterwards reconciled to the measure by the notable expedient of marrying his sister, a woman of fifty, to the King of Spain's brother. However, this scheme was abandoned on the fall of Urquijo [in 1800], and the Saxon minister, who was mixed up in the affair, after having been unjustly accused of purloining minerals from the Museum, and exposed to many

other ungenerous and unmanly persecutions, went mad, and died of vexation and chagrin.' Ferdinand, by the way, afterwards took for his third wife a princess of Saxony.

The proposed match with the princess of Saxony having fallen through, the Prince of Asturias married, in 1801, Maria Antonia, a princess of Naples, who died in 1806. Ferdinand remained free for ten years, as far as matrimony was concerned, and in 1816 married Maria Theresa, a princess of Portugal, who only survived this union for two years. In 1819 Ferdinand took for his third wife Maria Josepha Amelia of Saxony, who died in 1828, and in the following year he married his fourth and last wife, Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I. of Naples, and, for the first time, had issue, Isabella, destined to succeed to the throne, to be the object of another grand matrimonial intrigue of a very delicate nature on the part of France, and to become, not the captive of the French Emperor, but his guest, and the mother of the present king of Spain.

Deprived of his crown, and afterwards re-instated by Napoleon, Ferdinand, before he quitted this life in 1833, once more lost his sceptre; but on the second occasion it was replaced in his hands by a French army under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême, who entered Madrid, and re-established him as an absolute monarch.

IX.

LOUIS BONAPARTE AND HORTENSE.

LOUIS BONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio on September 2, 1778, and was christened on the 24th of the same month. The fact of the Comte de Marbeuf, Governor of Corsica, standing godfather to the future King of Holland, greatly irritated the anti-French party, and may possibly have given rise to the rumours that the Count was something more than sponsor to the new-born child. In after years it was remarked that neither in features nor character did he resemble the other members of the family. It was three months after this event that Charles Bonaparte embarked for Marseilles with his two sons, Joseph and Napoleon, who, thanks to the patronage of the Comte de Marbeuf, obtained free admission, the first to Autun, the second to Brienne.[1] The Comte de Marbeuf also procured Eliza Bonaparte a free admission to St. Cyr, and recommended Joseph Fesch, and Varese, a

[1] In 1809, when the Emperor Napoleon was at Vienna, he had an opportunity for showing his gratitude towards a member of the Marbeuf family. He met a priest and a lady in an open carriage. The lady, who was crying bitterly because her house had been pillaged and her gardener killed, said she wanted to see the Emperor, who had formerly known her family. His Majesty, on learning that the lady was a daughter of M. de Marbeuf, revealed himself, declared himself enchanted to be able to render her a service, and promised to set matters right as far as concerned all but the poor gardener.

cousin, to his brother, the Bishop of Autun. And had he not interceded on one occasion in favour of Napoleon, the future Emperor would have been obliged to leave Brienne. When Louis was eight years of age, the Count advised Madame Bonaparte to apply for a scholarship in one of the Royal Military Colleges; but at this moment the protector of the family died at Bastia, and the application of Madame Bonaparte was not favourably entertained. Twice afterwards did the widow of Charles Bonaparte apply in vain; and on the third occasion she was informed that her son had passed the age at which pupils were received. Up to the time of his death the Comte de Marbeuf certainly took an extraordinary amount of interest in the Bonaparte family, in this particular replacing Paoli.

In February 1791, Napoleon, who had been staying in Corsica on leave of absence, left the island for France, and took his young brother Louis with him as an aide-de-camp. A few days afterwards, Napoleon announced their arrival to uncle Fesch in these terms—'I have the pleasure of writing to you from the hut of a poor man. . . . The weather is cold and threatens snow. It is true that Peretti threatened to stab Mirabeau. This does little honour to the nation. A patriotic society should present Mirabeau with a complete Corsican costume; that is to say, with a cap, vest, breeches, drawers, cartridge-belt, dagger, pistol, and rifle; that would have a good effect.' It certainly would have had an effect of a certain kind had this curious reparation been awarded to the orator, and had he made a public appearance in the costume described.

On reaching Auxonne, where the regiment de la Fère was lying, we find Napoleon occupying a chamber in the military pavilion. In the way of furniture it contained a bad bed without curtains, a table placed in the embrasure of the window, covered with books and papers, and two chairs. Louis slept on a wretched mattress in a kind of ante-room. Twenty years later, when the King of Holland fled into Germany, Napoleon exclaimed to Caulaincourt:

What! abdicate without warning me! Take refuge in Westphalia as if from a tyrant! My brothers injure instead of aiding me! This Louis whom I brought up on my pay of a lieutenant, God knows at the price of what privations! I found means to pay the schooling of my young brother. Do you know how I managed it? By never setting my foot in a café, or going into society; by eating dry bread, and brushing my clothes myself. In order not to disgrace my comrades, I lived like a bear in a little room, with my books for my only friends. And those books, in order to procure them what strict economy was necessary![1] When, by dint of abstinence, I had amassed a couple of crowns, I repaired to the bookseller's with the joy of a child. Tormented with the crime of envy, I visited the shelves, and coveted for a long time before my purse permitted me to purchase. These were the joys and the debaucheries of my youth! When quite a little boy I was initiated into the wants and privations of a numerous family, &c.

At this time Napoleon had only four pounds a month, and what he could gain by writing such pamphlets as a 'Letter to Buttafuoca,' a 'Dialogue on Love,' 'Reflections on the State of Nature,' 'The

[1] Napoleon was then busy on his History of Corsica, and was writing to his father for works on that island; amongst others, Boswell's *Account of Corsica, with Memoirs of General Paoli.*

Supper at Beaucaire,' 'The Veiled Prophet,' &c. Louis, who wrote an excellent hand, was of great service in copying out his brother's manuscript. After a short stay at Auxonne, Bonaparte, with a company of the second battalion of his regiment, was ordered to Valence, where Louis shared the humble board of Mdlle. Bon, studied the elements of mathematics, and continued to act as the amanuensis of his brother.

In August Napoleon learned that the National Assembly had decided on raising four battalions of Corsican volunteers, and he obtained permission, but not without difficulty, to return home and preside at the formation of his corps. As he had no money for his journey, he wrote to his grand-uncle Lucien—'I await with impatience the six crowns which mamma owes me. I have great need of them. . . . Send me 300 francs.' He managed to get an advance from the paymaster of his regiment, and without paying his landlord and other creditors, set out for his darling Corsica, accompanied by Louis. They reached Ajaccio in September 1791, having been absent only six months. It was at this period that the grand-uncle Lucien died, and that Napoleon assumed the command of the family, even Joseph never daring to dispute his authority. After a short stay, Napoleon was obliged to return to his regiment, and on this occasion he was not accompanied by Louis, who remained at home doing nothing. A couple of years afterwards, the Bonapartes were obliged to fly from Corsica, and Louis was with the other members of his family when they reached Calvi and embarked for Marseille

In 1794, thanks to Salicetti, one of the delegates of the Convention and one of the protectors of Napoleon, Louis, though only fifteen years and five months old, was appointed adjutant-major of artillery, and told off to accompany the general of artillery charged to inspect the coasts; 'to aid him in this important work, and acquire new knowledge in his profession as an artilleryman.' The War Office refused to ratify this nomination, and sent Louis to school at Châlons to learn his duty, as, 'not having belonged to the artillery, his appointment is impossible.'

There exist in the archives of the War Office several *états de service* in the handwriting of Louis, but in none of these is there any mention made of the time he passed at the school of Châlons. The *états de service* of Louis are as faulty as those of Joseph and of Napoleon. In one he says he was an artillery cadet in 1790 (before he left Corsica), and adjutant of the 4th regiment of artillery in 1794. In another he declares that in 1793 and 1794 he received several wounds. In a third, he makes out that he was born on September 5, 1776, instead of September 2, 1778; that he was an artillery cadet in 1791, was employed in the army in 1792 and 1793, and was present at the siege and taking of Toulon. A fourth *état de service* differed from the above, and so on. That Louis should on one occasion have made himself out a couple of years older than he really was is not astonishing. It was no doubt done with the view of concealing the age at which he was made an adjutant-major. Before the refusal of the War Office to confirm his appointment, Louis, together with Marmont and Junot, accompanied Napoleon on a

mission to Genoa. After the fall of Robespierre, Louis, thanks once more to the protection of Salicetti, was made a lieutenant in a sedentary company of infantry, and some months afterwards was restored to the artillery, 'having pursued the necessary studies and received several wounds,' as was set forth in the official report.

However, Louis, a couple of years later, saw some real service, and behaved with gallantry and devotion during that first Italian campaign which immediately stamped his brother as the greatest soldier of the age. It is true that before the conclusion of the peace of Campo Formio, he fell ill at Forli, where, thirty-five years later, his second son sickened and died. After his return to Paris he frequently went to visit his sister Caroline, who was then at Madame Campan's, and strolling in the Jardin des Plantes one evening, he unfortunately confided to his friend Casabianca that he had fallen in love with one of his sister's schoolfellows, whose heart, whose intelligence, and whose person equally charmed and enslaved him. Casabianca, who appears to have had an inkling of the ambitious views of Napoleon, at once informed him of what had passed, and the young General immediately decided to thwart the plans of Louis, and to take him with him to Egypt. The young lady with whom Louis had become enamoured was one of Josephine's nieces, the lovely Emilie de Beauharnais. The principal objection which Napoleon found to this match arose from the fact that the father and mother of Emilie de Beauharnais had been divorced, that the Marquis had then married a German canoness, while the Marchioness had bestowed her hand on a man of

colour. Their daughter had thus been placed in a false position, and, in addition to this, she had no fortune.

In this matter, as in others, Napoleon acted with his usual promptitude; he not only determined that Louis should go campaigning, but that Emilie de Beauharnais should have another husband. We gather the following information from the Memoirs of the Comte de Lavalette. The Count was born the same year as Napoleon, served on his staff, and distinguished himself at Arcola (as did Louis). After the peace of Campo Formio he accompanied the General in his triumphant march through Italy, and was entrusted with more than one important mission. Being disliked by the delegates of the Directory, Bonaparte, after the campaign, not daring to ask Barras to promote him according to his merits, married him to a noble daughter of the House of Beauharnais, whose father had emigrated, and thus 'allied a plebeian name to the future brilliancy of his dynasty.' The Count then informs us that Emilie de Beauharnais was the daughter of Francis, the elder brother of Alexander de Beauharnais, that during the Revolution she was confided to the care of a governess, that having been deserted by her father and mother she had been obliged to take part in the patriotic processions of the Republic, and that she had been ill-treated as the daughter of an *émigré*. After the 9th Thermidor (thanks to Josephine), she was sent to Madame Campan's.

Bonaparte (wrote M. de Lavalette) took it into his head one day to make me marry Mdlle. de Beauharnais. He said to me:

'I cannot promote you, therefore I wish you to marry Emilie de Beauharnais, who is very pretty and well educated. Do you know her?'

'I have seen her twice. But, my general, I have no fortune, and we are going to Africa. I might be killed, and what would become of my widow? Besides, I have no inclination to marry.'

'You must marry in order to have children; that is the great object in life. It is possible that you may be killed, but the widow of one of my aides-de-camp will be entitled to a pension. On the other hand, no one will have anything to say to the daughter of an *émigré* (?). My wife cannot take her into society. The poor child is worthy of a better fate. This affair must be settled promptly. Talk it over this evening with Madame Bonaparte; the mother has given her consent (?). In a week the nuptials can be celebrated, and I will give you a fortnight's leave of absence for the honeymoon. You will come and join me at Toulon on the 29th.' I laughed during the whole time he was talking.

'Finally, I will do all I can for you.'

'But will the young lady accept me? I should be sorry to constrain her.'

'She is a mere child, anxious to get away from school, and would be very unhappy with her mother. During your absence she can go and live with her grandfather at Fontainebleau. You will not be killed,[1] and in a couple of years you will rejoin each other. Come! the affair is settled. Tell the coachman to return home.'

The same evening M. de Lavalette had an interview with Madame Bonaparte, and a trip to St. Germain was arranged for the following day. Madame Bonaparte said—'You will be delighted with my niece; she is charming.' The next morning saw the General

[1] Which turned out to be true, although Napoleon lost four out of his eight aides-de-camp, while Duroc and Eugène de Beauharnais were both wounded. Lavalette and Merlin alone escaped unscathed.

and his wife, Eugène, and M. de Lavalette on the road to St. Germain.

At Madame Campan's establishment (says the Count) we found a bevy of about forty girls, and I looked about anxiously for the one destined to be my bride. Her cousin Hortense led her forward to salute the General, and to embrace her aunt. The fact is, that she was extremely pretty, tall, elegant, with a charming face and a beautiful complexion, the colour of which was heightened by her confusion. Her timidity made Napoleon laugh, but he took no further notice of it. It was decided that we should breakfast on the grass in the garden. I was very uneasy. Would she accept me? Would she obey without repugnance? The idea of this sudden marriage and prompt departure pained me. When we rose and the circle was broken up I asked Eugène to take his cousin into a secluded alley. I joined them, and he left us. I opened the conversation, making no secret of my birth or want of fortune. I said :

'I have only my sword and the goodwill of the General to depend upon, and I shall be obliged to leave you in a fortnight. Tell me your mind. I feel disposed to love you with all my heart, but that is not sufficient. If this union be not to your taste, confide in me, and it will not be difficult to find a pretext for avoiding it. You shall no longer be tormented, and I will keep your secret.'

Her eyes were fixed on the ground ; for all reply she smiled and gave me the bouquet she held in her hand. I kissed her, and we returned slowly to join the rest of the company. A week afterwards we went to the town-hall to be married by the mayor, and the next day a poor nonconforming priest [who had not accepted the civil constitution and the principles of the Republic] joined us together in holy matrimony at the little convent of the Conception in the Rue St. Honoré. This was pretty much forbidden at the time, but Emilie, who was sweetly and sincerely religious, desired it.

The Comte de Lavalette's narrative reads like a pretty idyl—the bevy of young girls, the breakfast on the lawn, the stroll under the trees, the manly proposal, the unspoken reply, and the kiss which sealed an engagement destined to be honourably observed and the source of infinite happiness. But this same idyl made Louis Bonaparte the most unhappy of men, and the probability is that he never recovered the loss of the charming and devoted woman who had consented to become the bride of his comrade, and whose name became so prominent afterwards in connection with the part she played in effecting the escape of her husband from prison when on the point of being executed by the Bourbons for his attachment to Napoleon. Had poor Louis married Emilie de Beauharnais, Josephine would in all probability have secured a staunch ally in the Bonaparte family, whereas by a subséquent arrangement she turned her brother-in-law into a bitter enemy.

Louis served in Egypt, and naturally the presence of his fortunate rival on the staff of his brother was exceedingly trying to his feelings. It is somewhat curious to remark that after this campaign neither Louis nor M. de Lavalette saw any more active service ; the former, ruined in health by his imprudence in Italy, left the army to play the part of a king, while the latter accepted a post in the administration. Shortly after his return from Egypt it became a question of Louis marrying Hortense instead of Emilie de Beauharnais, but this match was so little to his taste that he went abroad in order to avoid it. He visited Saxony, Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and was present at some military manœuvres

at Potsdam, where he was treated with marked civility. He found the Queen of Prussia the prettiest princess he had ever seen. On returning to France he received the command of a cavalry regiment, and was just about to start for Portugal when his marriage was decided upon, and he was detained, much against his will, at Malmaison.

This match was no doubt the work of Josephine, who considered that she was deeply interested in the union. She had no children by Napoleon, and despaired of having any. She thought that if she could marry her daughter to one of Napoleon's brothers he would be satisfied with having an heir who would be at once his nephew and his grandson. The Bonapartes were at daggers drawn with the Beauharnais, and Josephine naturally thought that in marrying Hortense to Louis she would secure the support of one of the rival faction. To her mind this union would protect her from that fatal contingency of a divorce which she began to dread as soon as she comprehended the full extent of Napoleon's ambitious views.

It is difficult to understand how it came that Louis consented to this marriage. He had a wholesome dread of his brother Napoleon; he had been accustomed to look up to him and to obey him from his infancy; but at the same time Louis was of an obstinate disposition, and gave several proofs of insubordination. Napoleon afterwards complained that the virtues of Louis had occasioned him more trouble than the vices of Lucien, and he looked upon him, as a great English statesman has been regarded in our day, as 'a good man in the worst acceptation of the

term.' It is also hard to explain the reluctant consent of Hortense, who had refused the son of Rewbel, one of the members of the Directory, on the ground that a woman who wishes to remain virtuous and happy should only marry a man to whom she is passionately attached. And yet Josephine had been extremely anxious for this alliance when her husband was in Egypt, and when her fortunes seemed at a very low ebb. During the Consulate, too, Hortense had refused her hand to M. de Mun, an *émigré*, who, thanks to Napoleon, had recovered his property, which had been confiscated by the Republic, and who was exceedingly rich. Madame Bonaparte had also encouraged this marriage, but had been unable to overcome the obstinate resistance of her daughter, who had been told that M. de Mun, when in Germany, had been in love with Madame de Staël, and in the eyes of Hortense de Beauharnais the author of 'Corinne' was nothing less than a monster. Some overtures appear to have been indirectly made to Moreau, but they were unsuccessful. Moreau, if we are to believe the Memoirs of General Decaen, replied: 'I don't wish to marry; it brings bad luck. Look at Joubert' (who was killed, a few months after his marriage, at the battle of Novi). But marriage had certainly not brought Napoleon bad luck. Had Moreau accepted the proffered alliance, he would probably have escaped banishment and the shame of falling by a French cannon-ball while fighting in the ranks of the allies at Dresden. As for Hortense herself, she appears to have formed an attachment for Duroc; and Bourrienne relates that when that general was in Russia on a temporary mission, he acted as go-be-

tween, received letters for Hortense, and used to hand them to her while she was playing at billiards. This love affair, however, was broken off; Josephine was opposed to the match, and Bonaparte wished to impose conditions which his aide-de-camp did not consider acceptable. Napoleon afterwards said that the marriage between Louis and Hortense was entirely due to the intrigues of Josephine, and that he himself had wished Louis to marry the niece of M. de Talleyrand, who, however, gave her hand to M. Just de Noailles, to the great irritation of the First Consul, who considered that his projects had been thwarted by the wily diplomatist.

After a great deal of resistance on both sides, Louis and Hortense reluctantly consented to marry. The ceremony, which took place on January 7, 1802, seems to have been a most melancholy affair; not a look nor a word was interchanged between the bride and the bridegroom. Hortense cried bitterly, and Louis looked the picture of despair. Madame Ducrest, who was present, says that 'this mélancholy contrasted strangely with the general joy and the exhibition of flowers and diamonds, and that it was easy to see the marriage would be a source of grief. Another thing which struck her was the base flattery of all classes towards the First Consul and his family.' Not the least curious incident of the day was the nuptial benediction bestowed upon Murat and his wife, who had been married a year previously by the civil authorities. Bonaparte insisted that they should be joined together in holy wedlock, and this in spite of the fact that he himself had only been married by the mayor of his ward. The ceremony over, Louis and

Hortense drove to the house in the Rue Chantereine, where Napoleon had passed his brief honeymoon with Josephine. As was foreseen, this marriage was productive of little but mutual sorrow and regret. Hortense had lost her father on the scaffold, her mother had been thrown into prison and reduced to poverty; she had been obliged to work as a dressmaker, and now she was forced to marry against her inclination. As for Louis, it would be difficult to say whether he was more unhappy as husband, as father, or as sovereign.

In the 'Documents historiques sur la Hollande,'[1] by King Louis, published in London in 1820, we find the following confession:—'Before the ceremony, during the benediction, and from that time forth without ceasing, they both felt, to an equal degree and constantly, that they were not suited to each other, and yet they allowed themselves to be dragged into a marriage which their relations, and especially the mother of Hortense, considered essential to their policy. From January 1802 up to September 1807, the epoch of their last meeting, they remained together for a period of hardly four months, at three epochs separated by long intervals; but they had three children, which they loved with equal tenderness'—children which proved a source of great grief and anxiety. Before the honeymoon was over, if the honeymoon can be said to have existed, there was discord in the household. Louis, who hated Josephine, related to his wife all the weaknesses attributed to her mother, and insisted on the cessation of all confidential relationship between herself and Madame

[1] Vol. i. p. 115.

Bonaparte. He kept her away from St. Cloud as much as possible, and even while he was absent with his regiment strictly prohibited her from passing the night there. He roughly told her that she was now a Bonaparte, and that the interests of her own family should no longer concern her. He told her that she could not love him, that she was a woman, and consequently a being composed of cunning and malice; that she was the daughter of an immoral mother; that she belonged to a family he detested; that he would keep a sharp look-out over all her actions, and that in order to escape the common lot of husbands he would never allow himself to be the dupe of her schemes or her feigned submission.

According to Madame de Rémusat, who was devoted to Hortense, a very short time after the marriage of this ill-assorted couple, Madame Louis became *enceinte*, and the Bonapartes, and especially Madame Murat, who had been displeased with this marriage, because Joseph only having daughters they foresaw that the eldest son of Louis would become an object of great interest, circulated the outrageous report of an intimate liaison between the First Consul and his step-daughter, a liaison which had been favoured by Josephine. Madame Murat went so far as to communicate this report to Louis, who, 'whether he believed it or not,' redoubled his vigilance and his brutality. It is hardly to be wondered at that this scandal was accepted by the public, and that the suspicions attending the birth of the 'little Napoleon,' as Napoleon Charles Bonaparte was generally called, were never removed. The subsequent conduct of all parties only served to heighten the presumption that

there was truth in the rumour circulated by Madame Murat. It was often remarked that the fondness of Napoleon for this child was excessive. Comte d'Haussonville remarks that Louis was irritated and jealous at the tenderness shown towards his wife by the First Consul, and that he was afterwards wounded by the passionate affection of Napoleon for a child who was designated by public opinion and by Foreign Office despatches as the heir-presumptive to the future sovereign of France. Napoleon declared to Josephine that his nephew should be the object of his peculiar affection; that he was destined to accomplish great things, and that he hoped to make him *un sujet précieux*. We have seen that Napoleon, when this child was only a couple of years old, talked of his marriage with one of Joseph's daughters. We are told that he resembled his uncle in body and mind; and that his Majesty said one day, 'I recognise myself in this child; he has all the defects of infancy, but he has a good heart.' And he added that he would willingly compare his brother to Philip of Macedon if he had given them an Alexander, and that this child, who was worthy of succeeding him, would perhaps surpass him. All these anticipations were to be abruptly brought to a close by premature death.

We have various glimpses of this child, upon whose fate so much depended. We find Napoleon playing on the floor with him and laughing, then suddenly jumping up and striding into the adjoining apartment, where the foreign ambassadors were assembled at the Amiens period; and, pale with anger and with distorted features, indulging in the most violent language towards Lord Whitworth. We see

him dancing the child on his knee just after he had signed the order for the arrest of Moreau; and on the evening after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, amusing himself at dinner by putting the little Napoleon on the table and seeing him upset the dishes. On another occasion, holding him on his knees and caressing him, he said, 'Do you know, my little fellow, that you will chance be a king one day?' And seeing the anger this excited among the various members of his family, and especially the Murats, he added, 'At all events, I advise you, my poor child, if you wish to live, never to accept the hospitality of your cousins.' Such language as this highly incensed poor Louis, who was always being reminded by his brothers and sisters of the reports which had been spread concerning the birth of his child, and being told that he should not sacrifice the interests of his family for an infant who was half a Beauharnais. When Napoleon went to the camp at Boulogne, he insisted on Madame Louis joining him with the little Napoleon, and he more than once inspected the troops with the child in his arms. A 'dame du palais' relates, that one day, after a review, Napoleon entered the Tuileries and began pacing up and down the room. The little Napoleon donned the hat and sword which had been thrown on the sofa, and humming a march, strutted gravely behind his Majesty, who, turning round, caught him in his arms, exclaiming, 'what a pretty picture!' The Empress, who heard of this, at once sent for Gérard and directed him to commit the scene to canvas, and the painting was sent to St. Cloud the very day Josephine heard of the poor little fellow's death. There is a great

deal to show that Napoleon conceived a most extraordinary affection for the eldest son of Louis—an affection which was the source of continual heartburning among the Bonapartes, especially during the attempts made to settle the succession.

Napoleon gradually and patiently climbed the ladder. By the constitution of the year VIII. (1800) he became First Consul ; a couple of years afterwards he was made Consul for life, and in the year XII. Emperor. He alone appeared not in the least astonished at all these honours, although he thought he would have been obliged to wait several years longer before attaining the summit of his ambition. But various circumstances precipitated events and co-operated in the rapidity of his rise. Although he had married a woman of the ancient régime and had done a great deal for the Royalists, they could not forget that he was an usurper, that he had conquered the factions in Vendémiaire, that he had lent his support to five regicide Directors, that he had served the Convention, and that on the 18th Fructidor he had sent Augereau to dissolve by force a Royalist Chamber and to break up that Société de Clichy which was engaged in preparing a restoration. The Royalists had attempted to blow up the First Consul in the Rue St. Nicaise as he was on his way to the Théâtre Feydeau, when he had only been saved by the dexterity of his coachman, Cæsar, and they were continually plotting against his life. It was necessary to put an end to these conspiracies, and to give stability to the new institutions. It was evident that as long as the Republic depended for its existence on the fate of a single individual, Bonaparte's life would never be safe.

And in the event of his death two contingencies were equally to be dreaded; either the Jacobins would recover power and there would be another Reign of Terror, or else the Bourbons would come back breathing hatred and revenge against the Revolution and its principles, and all the properties which had been confiscated would return to their rightful owners. Better confide the fortunes of France to Bonaparte, who had sworn to observe the immortal principles of '89, than expose ourselves to the vengeance of the Jacobins or the Bourbons; the former would send us to the guillotine, the latter would reduce us to poverty or condemn us to exile. So argued the members of the Council of State, the Senate, the Tribunate, and the Legislative body. Napoleon, to put a stop to these constant conspiracies, and to give a pledge of his sincerity to the revolutionary party, had the Duc d'Enghien seized at Ettenheim, tried by court-martial, and shot in the ditch of Vincennes. The Chambers, on their side, pursued another course of action. They were most obsequious in their congratulations on the escape of the First Consul from an imminent peril. They declared that a new constitution was necessary, as that of the year VIII. had not made any provision with regard to a successor, and that as long as this question was left unsettled the First Consul would be exposed to attacks, on the supposition that the actual form of government would terminate with him. There was some talk of establishing a national jury for the trial of crimes of high treason, which was certainly unnecessary after the sharp and expeditious manner in which the Duc d'Enghien had been tried and executed. But this was not considered sufficient. It

was not enough to punish crimes calculated to disturb the tranquillity of the state; it must be made clear that such crimes would not produce the desired effect. The Senate, in an address, said to the First Consul: 'We require institutions which will ensure to our children the happiness we at present enjoy, which will consolidate your work and render it as immortal as your glory.' The columns of the 'Moniteur' were filled with addresses which poured in from the provinces congratulating Bonaparte on his escape from the evil designs of the Bourbons, all showing that the people required a stable form of government, not through love of the First Consul, but through fear of a change. Everywhere the question of the succession was discussed, and to this was soon added the title which should be accorded to the hereditary ruler of France. Was he to remain Consul of France or to assume the Imperial dignity? The situation of Bonaparte at this period bore a considerable resemblance to that of Cromwell when he had conquered in turn the King, the Lords, and the Commons, and appeared to be the sole heir of those three powers. But there was this difference between them: the army was opposed to Cromwell assuming the title of King, and he was obliged to be satisfied with that of Lord High Protector, and to be called, not his Majesty, but his Highness. The French army, on the contrary, hailed with pleasure the elevation of the First Consul to the Imperial purple. Cromwell was neither crowned nor anointed in Westminster Abbey, but was solemnly enthroned, girt with a sword of state, clad in a robe of purple, and presented with a rich Bible in Westminster Hall. Napoleon was crowned by the Pope

with great splendour at Notre Dame. The office of Cromwell was not declared hereditary, but he was permitted to name his successor. The high office to which Napoleon was called was declared hereditary, and he was entrusted with the power of adoption.

Macaulay says that Cromwell wished to restore the ancient constitution, which the majority of the people had always loved, to ascend the ancient English throne, and to reign according to the ancient English polity. If he could effect this, he might hope that the wounds of the lacerated state would heal fast. Great numbers of honest and quiet men would rally round him. Those Royalists whose attachment was rather to institutions than to persons would soon kiss the hand of King Oliver. The peers, who remained sullenly in their country houses and refused to take any part in public affairs, would, when summoned to their house by a king in possession, gladly resume their ancient functions. Northumberland and Bedford, Manchester and Pembroke, would be proud to bear the crown and the spurs, the sceptre and the globe, before the restorer of aristocracy. A sentiment of loyalty would gradually bind the people to the new dynasty, and on the decease of the founder of that dynasty the royal dignity might descend with general acquiescence to his posterity.

Cromwell was not permitted by his warlike saints to realise his dream, but what happened in France under Napoleon proved to a considerable extent the correctness of his views. Half the great families of France were represented at the Imperial court. In one thing Cromwell was more fortunate than Napo-

leon—although his office was not declared hereditary, he was able to leave it to his son.

Mr. Isaac Disraeli was no doubt somewhat astonished at the obstinacy with which Napoleon pursued the idea of naming a successor. In his 'Curiosities of Literature' he has given an interesting account of what he calls an extraordinary circumstance in our history—how the succession to the English dominion in two remarkable cases was never settled by the possessors of the throne themselves during their lifetime. The two rulers alluded to, who shirked this responsibility, were Queen Elizabeth and the Lord High Protector Cromwell. Elizabeth, from 'womanish infirmity,' and Cromwell, for a variety of reasons, were loth to name their successors. It is considered doubtful if Cromwell desired to be succeeded by either of his sons, and probable that he would have selected Henry rather than Richard for his heir. It is also regarded as doubtful if Elizabeth said on her death-bed, by way of designating her cousin of Scotland: 'I told you my seat had been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me. Who should succeed me but a king?' The anxiety of Napoleon to be succeeded by a member of his own family forms a strong contrast therefore to the reluctance displayed by two of the most absolute rulers who ever governed England to express any wish as to the future occupant of the throne or chief magistracy. But it was one of the predominant ideas of Napoleon to found a race which should succeed the Bourbons, as the Bourbons had succeeded the extinct house of Valois. He himself resembled, or was about to resemble, one of those Roman Emperors who were Re-

publican magistrates nominated by the Senate, but he desired a different title for his heirs. He professed the same notions with regard to hereditary despotism as those urged by Filmer and afterwards adopted by the University of Oxford, that it was a form of government ordained by God.

Napoleon, who was fond of consulting precedents, would, had he glanced over our history, have been convinced how precarious the direct succession is. He would have perceived, as Macaulay remarks, that William Rufus, Henry I., Stephen, John, Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Richard III., and Henry VII., all reigned in defiance of the strict rules of descent. Also that 'a grave doubt hung over the legitimacy of both Mary and Elizabeth. It was impossible that both Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn could have been lawfully married to Henry VIII.; and the highest authority in the realm declared that neither was so.' But he could not resist the idea of being regarded by posterity as the founder of a line of emperors sprung from his loins.

Boswell tells us that Paoli, who 'realised his highest idea of man,' and who had been worshipped by Napoleon in his youth, though unmarried himself, was an advocate of marriage in private life. He advised Boswell to marry as soon as he returned to Auchinleck. Reasoning about the head of a nation being married, Paoli gave it as his opinion that 'if he be married he risks being distracted by private affairs and swayed too much by concern for his family. If he be unmarried the risk is, that, being deprived of the tender attachment of wife and children, he may sacrifice everything to his own ambition.' Napoleon chose the

former course, but neither permitted himself to be distracted or swayed. Love of wife and child were destined to exercise no durable influence over his warlike proclivities and inordinate ambition. Anxious as he was for an heir male of his body, he twice risked and lost his throne with all the recklessness of an inveterate gambler. Paoli remained single, and sacrificed nothing to his personal interests. Had he acted otherwise than a patriot, his remains would not repose in Westminster Abbey, within whose sacred precincts the British Parliament recently decided that no monument should be erected in memory of the son and heir of Napoleon III.

It is curious that not only the remains of Paoli, but those of the last sovereign of Corsica, should repose on the banks of the Thames. In the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho, which formerly belonged to the parish of Westminster, may be seen a tablet which informs us that,

> Near this place is interred
> Theodore, King of Corsica,
> Who died in this parish, December 11,
> 1756,
> Immediately after leaving
> The King's Bench Prison
> By the benefit of the act of insolvency:
> In consequence of which,
> He registered his kingdom of Corsica
> For the use of his creditors.

To the above Horace Walpole added a moral in verse:—

> The grave, great teacher, to a level brings
> Heroes and beggars, galley slaves and kings.
> But Theodore this moral learned ere dead;
> Fate poured its lessons on his living head,
> Bestow'd a kingdom, and denied him bread.

And if we are to believe Cunningham's 'Handbook of London,' his ex-Corsican Majesty was buried at the expense of an oilman of the name of Wright, who resided in Compton Street, and who was probably a relenting creditor. Theodore left no successor, and yet he had accomplished more than Napoleon; at least, Napoleon said himself that it would be easier to become master of France than king of Corsica.

Many persons lamented that the French Revolution, after so much bloodshed and so many fortunes destroyed, should simply end in a change of masters, and the substitution of a family unknown ten years before, and hardly French when the Revolution broke out, for a family which for eight centuries had reigned over France. But they admitted the necessity of what they called a cruel alternative, and they consented to hand themselves over to Bonaparte almost unconditionally.

The three following questions were submitted to the Council of State:—1st. As regards stability, is the hereditary preferable to the elective system? 2nd. If the hereditary system be preferable, is the moment favourable for declaring it? How can the hereditary system be reconciled with existing institutions which should be preserved; with liberty, equality, and all those Republican forms which are the result of the Revolution? Defermon opened the discussion; he was favourable to the hereditary system, which was opposed by Berlier and four other members of the Council, as incompatible with Republican principles. Portalis spoke in favour of it, so did Pelet and Bigot de Prémeneau. The majority were unfavourable, but

remained silent, seeking to divine the wishes of the First Consul.

This debate, which terminated as Bonaparte desired, took place on the 15th Germinal, and on the 17th an incident occurred which was related by Joseph to Comte Miot de Melito, who immediately went home and committed it to paper.

This (he said) is what Joseph told us about a conversation Napoleon had with his brother Louis. On the 17th Germinal, the First Consul and his wife arrived at the house of Louis Bonaparte. He came in state, accompanied by an escort of thirty dragoons with drawn swords. Louis was much astonished at this extraordinary visit, and the pomp with which it was made. The First Consul appeared reserved and embarrassed, but his wife, having taken Louis aside, made him understand that they had come to communicate a great project, and that it would be necessary for him to show himself a man. After this preparatory announcement, she said that a law on the succession had been drawn up, adding that when a law was made it was necessary to conform to it, especially for him, as he would derive great advantages from it; that by this law the right of succession was only conferred upon members of the family whose age was at least sixteen years below that of the First Consul; and that his son alone fulfilled this condition; that the succession, therefore, would devolve on that child, as she (Madame Bonaparte) could no longer hope to give heirs to her husband; that this combination offered to the father a fine perspective, and should console him for being himself cut off.

Louis, in spite of the state of dependence in which he had been kept by Napoleon from his youth up, rejected this proposition with energy, partly in consequence of the ill-natured rumours which had been circulated on the occasion of his marriage. He

declared to Joseph that he would never consent to such an arrangement; but he feared that the law would be executed in spite of him, and that his son would be taken from him and brought up at the palace. Madame Bonaparte had hinted that this was the lot in store for the heir-presumptive to the Imperial throne. Warming by degrees, we are told that Louis, reciting his woes, indulged in the most violent language at the expense of his mother-in-law, saying things 'which the deepest hatred would hardly dare to think.' He wished to know why he should yield his place in the line of succession to his son. What had he done to deserve being disinherited? He asked Napoleon, 'What will be my attitude in presence of my son, become yours, when this child occupies a station superior to mine, and independent of me, walking immediately behind you, and looking upon me with distrust, and perhaps with contempt? No, I will never consent; and sooner than renounce the royalty which is about to become your heritage, sooner than consent to bow the head to my son, I will leave France and take Napoleon with me, and we shall see if you will dare publicly to tear a child from his father.'

Joseph was almost as much incensed as Louis by the projects of the First Consul, although there were no rumours affecting his honour and that of his wife. He spoke in the most indignant terms of the perfidious combinations of Napoleon, who wished to deprive him of his rights by cutting him off from the succession. There was something comical in his rage. He went so far as to curse the ambition of his brother, and to desire his death in the interest of his family

and of France; and he rushed off to Saint Chamand to unbosom himself to Lucien.

In consequence of the resistance of his brother and the rest of his family, Napoleon found it necessary to modify his plans by including Joseph and Louis in the line of succession, but with his accustomed duplicity he found means to reserve the right of falling back on his primitive idea by introducing into the Senatus Consultum a clause giving him the power of adoption. Napoleon, in order to conciliate Louis, made him a general of division and councillor of state; and to brother Joseph was given the command of the 4th regiment of the line, 'as it was impossible under actual circumstances to include anyone in the line of succession entirely foreign to military affairs.'

Once, as it were, in sight of land, Napoleon was of opinion that matters should be settled with rapidity. He said that petitions signed by 30,000 soldiers, begging him to proclaim himself Emperor, had reached him from the army, and he expressed the desire that the Tribunate, which was considered by the nation as more independent than the Senate or the Legislative Body, should invite him to assume the purple. This affair was soon arranged, and Curée, who had been a Conventional, charged himself with the duty of bringing the matter forward. The motion was laid on the table on the 3rd Floréal (April 23). The First Consul asked that the terms of the motion should be communicated to him. Not approving of them, he was asked to draw up a motion himself, and this was what he suggested :—

1st. That Napoleon Bonaparte, at present First

Consul, be declared Emperor, and in this capacity remain charged *with the government of the French Republic.*

2nd. That the Imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his *descendants.*

In the original motion the word *family* had been used, and not *descendants.* The President of the Tribunate, who was on very friendly terms with Napoleon's brothers, and particularly with Joseph, remarked the substitution, and sent the motion back to M. Maret, to have it changed. The document having been returned without any alteration, he drew his pen through the word *descendants,* and re-established *family* ; and Curée, who was not aware of what had passed, ascended the tribune and read out the motion handed to him, which was duly voted in the midst of general enthusiasm, and sent up to the Senate, where it met with little opposition. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the anger of Napoleon at being outwitted, and his wrath against Curée.

Joseph and Louis had had a narrow escape, as, but for the President of the Tribunate, they would both have been to all intents and purposes deprived of what they considered as their rights. Napoleon hesitated for some time as to the title he should assume. Mr. Fox, in a letter to his nephew, mentioned the rumour of the First Consul becoming the Emperor of the Gauls. The 'Emperor of the West' also tickled the fancy of Bonaparte, now that he had renounced the East. However, by a Senatus Consultum, the Imperial dignity was conferred on Napoleon Bonaparte (who became Emperor of the French Republic), and in default of any natural or adoptive

heirs, this dignity was to devolve on his brothers Joseph and Louis, to the exclusion of Lucien and Jerome, in consequence of the marriages they had contracted. Joseph had married a person of humble origin, and Napoleon a lady who had been repudiated by her husband; yet Lucien was now cut off from the succession for marrying a woman who had been divorced, and Jerome for not having married a princess. Madame Jouberthon had never been guilty of greater levity than Madame de Beauharnais, and Mdlle. Julie Clary, the daughter of a soap manufacturer, was not more respectable than Miss Patterson, of Baltimore.

On May 18, 1804, Bonaparte was proclaimed hereditary Emperor under the title of Napoleon I., and the establishment of the new dynasty was ratified by the people by a majority of 3,572,329 votes to 2,569. Joseph was created Grand Elector, and Louis, Constable. Bernadotte, thanks to Désirée Clary, was made a Marshal, and was presented with a house in the Rue d'Anjou, which the new Emperor had purchased from Moreau for 36,000*l.*, and it was there that the Queen of Sweden died under the second Empire.

The next step was the coronation, and here again we encounter a piece of knavery on the part of Napoleon, and perceive the pertinacity with which he was wont to pursue any object he desired to accomplish. Sometimes thwarted in his designs, he laid them aside for a moment, but it was merely to await a more favourable opportunity for turning the difficulty. It would be hard to name any plan deliberately formed and frankly abandoned by Napoleon.

If foiled in his first spring, he would creep round and round his intended victim, watching for a fresh opening to attack him. It was thus in the affair of the succession. He could not bear the idea of anyone successfully resisting him, and he returned to the charge.

It was considered expedient, before the ceremony of the coronation, to proclaim the number of votes given in favour of the Empire and the hereditary system. Rœderer was charged to draw up the report, and he thought fit to insist upon the advantages of the mode of succession which had been established, and particularly upon the clause which conferred the Imperial dignity on the brothers of the Emperor in the event of his Majesty dying without leaving any legitimate or adoptive children. But in examining the manner in which the vote had been submitted to the people, he perceived that this clause had been omitted, and consequently that the nation had voted for the *descendants* of the brothers of the Emperor, and not for the brothers of the Emperor themselves. The words 'in the persons of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte' had been left out, and the consequence was that, according to the national vote, Joseph having no sons, the succession devolved on the son of Louis. It is out of the question to suppose that this omission was due to negligence. The conversation which ensued between Napoleon and Rœderer, in which the former complained bitterly of the conduct of his brothers, and especially of that of Joseph, proves that the same hand which had substituted the word *descendants* for that of *family* in the draught of the Tribunate, had struck his pen through the words 'in the persons of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte.'

Napoleon was not satisfied with playing this trick. If Joseph and Louis had been removed from the succession by the terms of the plebiscitum, this was not the case as regarded the Senatus Consultum of the 28th Floréal. Considering that the provisions of the Senatus Consultum had been referred to the people for their confirmation, it is only right to suppose that, having been sanctioned by the national vote, they were more binding than those subscribed to by the Legislature; but this was not enough for Napoleon. In order more effectually to set aside the claims of Joseph, and to ensure the success of his original combination without resorting to an adoption, the new Emperor offered his brother the crown of Lombardy, which, as we have already seen, he refused, although Talleyrand told him that his chances of ascending the throne of France were more imaginary than real; that his brother might divorce Josephine and beget children, or might resort to an adoption. As nothing could move the resolution of Joseph, the Emperor next imagined to offer the crown of Lombardy to the eldest son of Louis under the following conditions: Louis to govern the country until the young prince was of age; the little Napoleon to remain in Paris until he had attained his majority. 'As long as I exist,' replied Louis to the Emperor, 'I will never consent to the adoption of my son, nor to any provision which, in placing him, to my detriment, on the throne of Lombardy, will give, in consequence of so marked a favour, new consistence to the rumours circulated on the subject of that child. I will consent to go to Italy, but on the condition of taking my wife and my children with me.' The decided tone in which Louis

expressed this determination so exasperated the Emperor, that he seized him round the waist and flung him violently out of the room.

Since, as he said, he could no longer count upon his own family, he should fall back on that of his wife. His first idea, after the refusal of Louis, was to place Eugène de Beauharnais on the throne of Lombardy, and to marry him to the Queen of Etruria. But this plan was afterwards modified, and he caused himself to be crowned King of Italy at Milan. The Pope was invited to officiate, but he refused. The Paris coronation had been productive of little but vexation of spirit on the part of the new Charlemagne, and Pius VII. was little inclined to be duped a second time and to incur further censure from the faithful.

In 1806 there was a grand distribution of territories and titles, and Louis for his share was to be made King of Holland. Schimmelpenninck was Grand Pensioner of that country when it was menaced by an Anglo-Swedish force, and so Napoleon, who was himself busy with Austria, sent Louis thither with an army which took up its position on the frontier of Westphalia, a good way from the scene of action. The victory of Austerlitz averted all danger for the time being, and Louis repaired to Strasburg to congratulate his brother on his triumph. Napoleon greeted him very coldly, and asked him why he had left Holland, where he had been so well received. Louis explained that there were rumours current in the country of a monarchical transformation—'rumours which were most disagreeable to that free and estimable nation,' and also to himself. Napoleon gave him to understand that he had no idea of con-

sulting him on this affair; that he was a subject and consequently bound to obey in all things. And, in fact, the Senatus Consultum of Floréal, year XII., had given Napoleon complete control over his family. Louis reflected that if he refused the throne of Holland he would be driven into exile like Lucien, or would share the fate of Joseph, who, after rejecting the throne of Lombardy, had been forced to accept that of Naples. Holland was no more consulted upon this subject than was Louis. On March 14, 1806, Napoleon wrote to Talleyrand, saying: 'I have seen Admiral Verhuell. The question, in two words, reduces itself to this: Holland is without any executive power, and must have one; I will give her Prince Louis. Instead of a Grand Pensioner she will have a king. The arguments in favour of this are, that none of the Dutch colonies will be restored on the conclusion of peace unless my proposition be accepted. Before twenty days, Louis must make his entry into Amsterdam.' And in this manner Holland was dragged into a ruinous war with England. Louis accepted the throne in the same melancholy manner as he had accepted the hand of Hortense de Beauharnais; but M. Lanfrey credits him with the sincere intention of reigning well, and of alleviating the misfortunes of Holland to the best of his ability. He little foresaw all the tribulations which awaited him, and the severe state of bondage upon which he was entering, when he accepted this fatal gift, for Napoleon had guaranteed the independence and integrity of the country committed to his charge before his final consent was wrung from him.

The amount of independence and authority which

King Louis enjoyed in Holland may be estimated by a variety of incidents. Although ruined by the war, the loss of her colonies, the continental blockade, and the forced inaction of her merchant marine, Holland was obliged by Napoleon to keep up an army of 50,000 men. Louis was being continually called upon to add to these hardships: to establish the conscription, to levy fresh taxes, and to sacrifice the interests of the Protestant majority to a Catholic minority. On January 12, 1807, a barge laden with powder exploded at Leyden, and blew down about eight hundred houses. Louis, whose finances were in the most dilapidated condition, opened a public subscription for the sufferers; it required nothing more than this to exasperate Napoleon, who was then in Poland, and to draw from him a torrent of reproach, invective, and recrimination. He wrote to Louis from Finkenstein:

I have received your letter of March 24. You say that you have 20,000 men with the grand army. You do not believe this yourself. There are not 10,000; and what men! It is not marshals, and knights, and counts that you must create, but soldiers. If you continue to act thus in Holland you will render me ridiculous.

You govern that nation too much like a Capucin. There should be a certain amount of majesty and nothing of the monk in the bounty of a king. Nothing is worse than the number of journeys you have made to the Hague, unless it be the subscription opened by your order. A king commands, and asks nothing from anyone; he is supposed to be the source of all power, and to have sufficient means at his disposal not to be obliged to have recourse to the purse of others. You do not appear to appreciate these shades.

I am anxious to be enlightened on the subject of the re-establishment of the nobility. Can you have lost your head to such a pitch as to forget all you owe me? Your letters

are filled with respect and obedience which are only words. I want facts. Respect and obedience consist in not undertaking important matters without my advice. I shall be obliged to disavow you. I have asked for the papers respecting the re-establishment of the nobility. Do you desire a public mark of my excessive discontent?

Do not undertake any maritime expedition; the season is too far advanced. Raise national guards in order to defend your country. Levy as many conscripts as possible. Pay my troops. A prince who is considered amiable the first year of his reign, is laughed at the second. The love which kings inspire should be manly, and mixed with a respectful dread and a great amount of esteem. When a king is said to be good his reign is a failure. How can a good man, a good father if you like, perform the duties of the throne, subdue his enemies, and silence passion, or force it to take the direction he desires? The first thing you should have done, and which I advised you to do, was to establish the conscription. What can be done without an army? Can a heap of deserters be called an army? Did you not feel that, with such an army as yours, the creation of marshals was ridiculous? The King of Naples has none. I have not created any in my kingdom of Italy. Do you believe that when forty French ships are united to four or five Dutch barks, Admiral Verhuell, for example, in his capacity of marshal, will be able to command them? None of the small powers have marshals. There are none in Bavaria or Sweden. You go too fast, and without advice. I offered you mine; you reply with fine compliments, and continue to commit follies.

Your quarrels with the queen also reach the public. You should exhibit at home that paternal and effeminate character which you display in matters of government; and in business that rigour you practise in your household. You treat a young wife as you would command a regiment. Distrust the persons by whom you are surrounded; you have none but nobles about you. The opinion of these

persons is always in direct contradiction to that of the public. You are losing your popularity both at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The Catholics are beginning to dread you. Why do you not employ them? Ought you not to protect your own religion?

You have the best and most virtuous of wives, and you render her unhappy. Let her dance as much as she likes; it is in keeping with her age. I have a wife who is forty years old [or forty-five], and I write to her from the field of battle to go to balls; and you wish your wife, who is only twenty, who sees her youth passing, who has all its illusions, to live in a cloister, or like a nurse always washing her baby? I would not say all this but for the interest I bear you. Render the mother of your children happy. You have only one way of accomplishing this—by according her esteem and confidence. Unfortunately you have a wife who is too virtuous. If you had a coquette, she would lead you by the nose. But your wife is proud, and the very idea that you have a bad opinion of her revolts and afflicts her. You ought to have had a wife like some of those I know in Paris. She would have played you fine tricks, and have had you at her feet. This is not my fault; I have often told your wife so.

Whatever follies you may commit in your own country, you must commit none in mine. You offer decorations to everyone. My intention is, that no one shall wear these decorations in France, as I do not intend to wear them myself. The reason is, that you have done nothing as yet to deserve that men should wear your portrait; and besides, you instituted the decoration without my permission, and have been too prodigal with it.

NAPOLEON.

Poor Louis had no doubt considered that, as the Emperor had made Murat an admiral, he might make Verhuell a marshal; that as the Emperor had re-established the nobility in France, and had made Fouché a duke the same day that he made a Mont-

morency a count, he might revive the Dutch peerage: and that as the Emperor had created the Legion of Honour 'because men are governed with playthings,' he might institute a decoration on his own account. The fact of Napoleon holding up his conduct towards Josephine as an example was peculiarly cynical, for everyone was aware of his liaison with the Comtesse Walewska, which at that moment detained him in Poland.

Shortly before the above letter was written, Napoleon had insisted on the Queen Hortense, who had been staying with her mother at Mayence, returning to Louis, who on her arrival immediately proceeded to have a wall built between his own apartments and those of his wife, and to let his subjects know what he thought of the queen's conduct.

Her Majesty appears to have long known what was in store for her. She had seen with regret the throne forced upon Louis; she knew that the climate of Holland would not suit her delicate health; she dreaded finding herself so far away from Paris *tête-à-tête* with her husband; and before starting for Amsterdam she had implored the promise of the Emperor's protection, and declared that in the event of further persecution she would retire from the world and live in a convent.

At this juncture a painful incident occurred, which may be said to have affected not only the relations of the Bonaparte family, but also the future of Europe. The little Napoleon was suddenly carried off by a fit of the croup. The despair of the mother at this untimely death was heartrending. Josephine, who on learning the sad intelligence immediately exclaimed,

'Now I am lost; he will abandon me,' at once rushed off to Holland to try and comfort her daughter. The Duchess d'Abrantes says that the death of the eldest son of *Hortense* was a terrible blow to the family of *Josephine*; that grief destroyed the queen's health; that the Empress was broken-hearted, and that 'the fear of a divorce was to be found in every tear which she shed over the grave of the youthful prince.' The queen had to be torn by force from the dead body of her son. It was feared for some time that she would lose her reason. Louis seems to have been touched by so much grief, and to have attempted to console his wife. But he could not entirely divest himself of his suspicions and his jealousy. He called upon her to acknowledge her wrongs. 'If you will only confess your frailties to me, I will pardon you,' he said; 'we will commence a new existence, and the past shall be forgotten.' After spending a few days with her mother and her second son at the château of Lacken, the unfortunate queen, after a short stay at Malmaison, went to bury her grief in a lonely retreat in the Pyrenees.

As soon as the news of this event reached Paris, despatches were sent off to Napoleon. Fontanes, who was always ready to pour out any number of pompous phrases when the opportunity presented itself, announced to the Senate that 'grief had entered the tent of the Emperor,' who had 'wept over the death of a child.' But the fact is, that the Emperor appears to have behaved upon this occasion somewhat like David. The day after the arrival of the ill tidings he received a deputation of Polish officials, who came to offer their condolence; and remarking his joyous appearance,

Talleyrand felt obliged to remind him that he ought to assume a more sorrowful aspect. And what did Napoleon reply?—'That he had no time to amuse himself by feeling and regretting like other men.'

Both Josephine and Hortense were firmly convinced from the moment of the little Napoleon's death that the divorce would not long be delayed. Louis and Hortense had a second son born in Paris in 1804. He was the first member of the family born a prince. He had been christened by the Pope, then in Paris for the coronation, and he had been held at the font by Madame Mère. At the time of his brother's death he was three years old. Politically speaking, there was no reason why he should not have succeeded his brother as heir-presumptive to the Imperial throne. Josephine derived a temporary consolation from the hope that Napoleon would be satisfied with adopting Napoleon Louis, but she was destined to be disappointed. On the death of the little Napoleon he resolved on a divorce.

The Emperor wrote several letters from Poland on the subject of the death of his nephew—letters couched in terms at once affectionate and imperious. He wrote to Josephine from Finkenstein on May 14, 1807:

From the grief I experience myself I can perfectly understand the pain which the death of the poor little Napoleon causes you. I should like to be near you in order to moderate your sorrow. You have enjoyed the happiness of never losing a child, but this is one of the penalties attached to human wretchedness. Let me know that you are reasonable and in good health. Do you wish to increase my affliction?

NAPOLEON.

And on May 20 he wrote to Hortense :

My Daughter,—The news which I receive from the Hague shows me that you are not reasonable ; however legitimate your grief, it should not exceed certain bounds. You must not ruin your health ; amuse yourself, and know that life is so thickly studded with reefs, and is the source of so many ills, that death is often a relief.—Your affectionate father,

NAPOLEON.

Several other letters followed, and on June 16 his Majesty wrote thus from Friedland :

My Daughter,—I have received your letter dated from Orleans. Your grief pains me. I should like to see you exhibit greater courage. To live is to suffer, and the honest man always struggles to remain master of himself. I do not like to see you so unjust towards the little Napoleon Louis, and your friends. Your mother and I fancied we filled a larger place in your heart.

I gained a great victory on the 14th. I am quite well, and love you much. Adieu, my daughter ; I embrace you with all my heart.

NAPOLEON.

The reconciliation between Louis and his wife was not of long duration. While Hortense was in the Pyrenees she met M. Decazes (who was afterwards minister of Louis XVIII., and created a duke), and an intimacy succeeded which gave rise to many ill-natured reports. Madame de Rémusat, always ready to excuse the conduct of the Queen of Holland, admits that her Majesty behaved with want of caution at this period. Madame Murat was ready as usual to poison the mind of her brother, and to relate all the scandal she could pick up concerning her sister-in-

law. When it became known that her Majesty was *enceinte*, insinuations were again thrown out respecting the paternity of the child who was destined to become Napoleon III. And the general opinion in France and Holland was that Admiral Verheull was the father of the prince born on April 20, 1808. The jealousy of Louis was aroused once more, and his conduct became so violent that the Empress implored Napoleon not to send her daughter back to Holland, but to allow her to be confined in Paris. The Emperor consented. Louis received the necessary orders, and Louis Napoleon was born at the Tuileries. The King of Holland appears to have received the news of this event with anything but satisfaction. He refused to allow the customary salutes, and it was only on the earnest representations of his ministers that he at length consented to twenty-one, instead of a hundred and one rounds being fired—a rather novel manner of avenging his injured honour.

As for the Queen Hortense, having recovered from her confinement, she implored Napoleon not to force her to return to the Hague, 'where her eldest son had died, and where a thousand sorrows awaited her.' She declared that her reputation was blighted and her health destroyed, and she demanded the seclusion of a convent. She also begged hard for permission to demand a divorce, but Napoleon refused to listen to this idea, though both Louis and Hortense would have been justified in pleading mutual consent to this arrangement, and non-consent at the time of the marriage. After remaining as long as possible in Paris, the Queen of Holland once more rejoined her husband. The Emperor insisted upon this.

On March 27, 1808, Napoleon offered Louis the Spanish throne. 'The climate of Holland,' he wrote, 'does not suit you. Besides, that country will not be able to recover from its ruins.' Louis rejected this proposal. He had had quite enough of his nominal royalty in Holland, and he disapproved of the ignoble stratagems by which his brother had gained possession of the crown of Charles IV. A few months afterwards Napoleon asked Louis to cede him Brabant and Zeeland in exchange for the Hanse Towns, just as he afterwards asked Joseph to cede him the provinces of the Ebro in exchange for Portugal. Louis rejected this demand with indignation. He would have nothing to say to the dismemberment of Holland. He expected to see the country invaded, and he made preparations for resisting.

During the time of the Walcheren expedition Louis had been treated with the greatest indignity. The Emperor, who was away on his Austrian campaign, had left the government of France in the hands of his privy council. Cambacérès wanted the command of the army to be given to Louis, on the ground that he was Grand Constable of France; but Fouché and the other members objected, and determined in favour of Bernadotte, who had just incurred the severe displeasure of the Emperor after Wagram.

No sooner had Napoleon returned from Vienna than he determined to dethrone Louis, and he proceeded to carry out his designs in his usual crafty manner. He wished to avoid as far as possible the odium of the act which he contemplated, and to place all the wrong on the side of his brother. Louis was

invited to Paris. Rightly divining what was in store for him, he wished to refuse, but his ministers advised him to obey, and he set out for France. He was not left long in suspense with regard to the intentions of his brother. He had hardly reached Paris when he read a declaration in the papers, written by Napoleon, and saying, 'Holland is one of the principal arteries of my empire. Changes will be necessary. The safety of my frontiers and the interests of the two countries imperiously necessitate this.' And the Minister of the Interior added, 'Holland is really only a portion of France.' It was in this indirect way that Louis received the first intimation that his kingdom was about to pass from him. The first thing he did was to try and return to Holland, but he was a prisoner. He had alighted at the house of his mother, which was surrounded by gendarmes. In this extremity he managed to despatch one of his equerries to Amsterdam, with orders not to allow the French troops to occupy the forts or to enter the capital. This order was executed, but at the same time his ministers advised the king to submit to the conditions imposed by Napoleon. They considered resistance useless. So violent was the conduct of Napoleon towards his brother, that the unfortunate Louis was attacked by a nervous fever, from which, as he himself expressed it, he unhappily recovered. He was accused of having violated treaties, disarmed squadrons, disbanded sailors, disorganised armies, and entered into relations with England. Napoleon, he said, treated him as Popilius treated Antiochus, and enforced submission before granting him his freedom. However, after some further negotiation Napoleon

consented to make a few concessions, such as they were. He agreed to restore the crown to Louis on the condition of his prohibiting all commerce with England, keeping up a fleet of fourteen ships and seven frigates, and an army of 25,000 men, and suppressing his nobility and his marshals. But while offering to spare him for the moment, Napoleon took care to add that his ultimate intention was to annex Holland, as the most deadly blow he could inflict upon England. The possession of Antwerp was, as he remarked, a loaded pistol pointed at the heart of that country. Spain, Portugal, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Etruria, and the Papal States, had all to suffer, like Holland, for not observing the continental blockade, which was to smother England under the weight of her unexported merchandise. Napoleon had his decree of annexation already drawn up, but he hesitated to publish it. The fact is, that Spain was giving a great deal of trouble, that a storm was brewing in the north, and that Austria seemed inclined for a moment to renew the struggle with France sooner than execute the treaty of Vienna signed after Wagram. What if the Dutch were to show fight and to break their dykes? Louis has been accused of having appealed to the Marquis of Wellesley to aid him in defending Holland against his brother, but it was at the instigation of Napoleon that negotiations were opened with the British Cabinet, and M. Labouchère despatched to London to try and effect an arrangement. Napoleon had taken it into his head that England could be induced to make peace on the condition that he refrained from annexing Holland, and

Louis was put forward to implore the British Government to save him and his kingdom. Lord Wellesley refused to regard these and other negotiations having for their object to re-establish the Bourbons on the throne of Spain, and to indemnify Louis XVIII. in the United States, as serious. He was perfectly aware that the King of Holland only reigned in his brother's name, and did not enjoy a shadow of independence. While these negotiations were being carried on, Napoleon learned that his troops had been refused permission to enter Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, and that the war minister, Krayenhof, was fortifying Amsterdam. This intelligence arrived just as the Emperor thought that he had mastered the resistance of Louis, and it was at variance with the advice which had been tendered by the Dutch ministers to their captive sovereign. The Emperor flew into a transport of rage, and M. Thiers quotes the following letter which his Majesty, on March 3, 1810, wrote to Fouché—a letter which is not given in the Correspondence of Napoleon:—'Has the King of Holland gone mad? You will ask him if it is by his orders that his ministers have acted, or if it is on their own authority. I shall have them all arrested and their heads cut off.' Louis, who had seemed so determined at one moment, was frightened out of his wits. He was a close prisoner, and was aware that his terrible brother was not to be trifled with. He had formerly been more Dutch than the Dutch, more eager to resent the encroachments of Napoleon than any of his subjects; but now he humbled himself in the dust. He ordered the forts to be opened, and requested Krayenhof and

Mollerus, the only two ministers who were in favour of defending the independence of their country to the last, to resign office. By a treaty which Louis signed on March 16, 1810, he agreed to fulfil all the conditions previously demanded by Napoleon, and to accept a state of the most galling vassalage. He ceded to the Emperor all that portion of Holland lying on the left bank of the Rhine, as far as Wahal; that is to say a fourth of his kingdom, and he consented to confide the guardianship of his states to a French corps of observation which he had naturally to support. Poor Louis also, to his great grief, was obliged to seize all the American vessels in his ports and to sell them. The crime of America was that she had resented the Berlin decrees by interdicting her harbours to all French vessels, and by forbidding American vessels to enter French ports. Louis ratified this treaty, but only conditionally; he did not believe in the possibility of its execution. Holland was ruined, and would never be able to support the new burdens imposed upon her. To show how little confidence he had in the validity of his engagements, he insisted on adding the words 'as far as possible' to his undertaking. This matter having been settled more or less satisfactorily, Louis was invited to Compiègne, whither the Emperor had gone to receive Marie Louise. During his negotiations with his brother he had demanded a divorce, with the consent of Hortense, and this having been refused, Louis had declined to attach his signature to the dissolution of the Emperor's marriage with Josephine. However, he accepted the invitation to Compiègne, but on finding that Hortense had been placed in the apartment

next to his, he left the château in the middle of the night. He was shortly afterwards allowed to return to Holland, and entered Amsterdam on April 11, 1810, where he was soon joined by Hortense and his second son, for appearances were to be kept up. The situation of Louis was more painful than ever; he had concluded a treaty which was ruinous to his subjects, and which, as he well foresaw, he could not execute. His bickerings with his brother became more frequent and bitter than ever, and he lived in a separate part of the palace from his wife. On May 20 Napoleon wrote to him—'The die is cast; you are incorrigible. Advice and affection having failed, I must resort to threats and force. What are these prayers and mysterious fasts that you have ordered? Louis, you do not wish to reign any longer; your actions reveal your sentiments better than your intimate letters. Listen to a man who knows more than you do. Return into the right road. Act like a Frenchman, or your people will drive you from the country, and you will leave Holland an object of pity, and the laughing-stock of the Dutch. It is with reason and political acumen that states are governed, and not with a lymphatic and vitiated temperament.' Poor Louis, previously taunted with sacrificing his Catholic subjects, was now accused of bigotry, and the dilapidated state of his health, the fruit of certain indiscretions in Italy, was once more raked up. The above letter, like a good many others which have recently come to light, is not to be found in the Correspondence of Napoleon, published under the second Empire, and it is easy to understand that the publication of such an epistle, addressed to his father, would

have been anything but pleasing to Napoleon III. On May 23 the Emperor learned that King Louis, at a diplomatic audience, had passed his *chargé d'affaires* without speaking to him, and that a coachman in the livery of the French embassy had been beaten in a squabble. Napoleon overwhelmed Louis with reproaches; he told him not to write any more of his ordinary phrases, which were always belied by his acts, and concluded by saying, 'I shall never write to you again as long as I live.'

Louis could no longer entertain any doubt with regard to the intentions of his brother. According to treaty the number of French troops in Holland was not to exceed 6,000, and these were to be engaged in the protection of the littoral. Napoleon marched 20,000 soldiers into the country, who, taking up their position round Amsterdam, narrowed the circle gradually. Louis, whose feelings may well be imagined, relates that on more than one occasion the French general in command endeavoured to entrap him by proposing an interview somewhere between Utrecht and Amsterdam, but that he prudently declined the invitation. On the nearer approach of the French army King Louis demanded explanations from Napoleon's *chargé d'affaires*, and was officially assured by him that the Emperor had no intention of occupying Amsterdam. This did not prevent his Majesty from ordering this occupation a few days later, on the ground that 'his eagles had been insulted at Haarlem,' where it appears a Dutch officer had refused to allow a French patrol to pass. Marshal Serrurier at the same time received instructions to insinuate to Louis that the only way of getting out of the scrape would

be to receive the French troops in triumph in Amsterdam.

Reduced to these straits and goaded to madness, King Louis summoned his ministers, and once more proposed to adopt energetic measures; to defend Amsterdam to the last, as Saragossa had been defended; to break the dykes and to call the whole nation to arms. The Dutch were not inclined to resort to such desperate measures; the country had been ruined, and was in no position to carry on an almost hopeless struggle. Perhaps had a prince of the House of Orange been on the throne, or a de Witt been Grand Pensioner, the Dutch might have risen in defence of their dismembered country and their violated liberties; but they had no heart to put the country under water, and to risk what little fortune and freedom remained, at the voice of a king who had been imposed upon them, and because one Bonaparte bullied and oppressed another. The Dutch had evidently come to the same conclusion as the Russian ambassador in Paris, that a genius had arisen against whom it was hopeless to contend, and that, in the words of the caution addressed of old to the archangel, 'Save Him who reigns above, none can resist.'

Seeing no other escape from his perpetual and ever-increasing embarrassments, Louis determined to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, and he drew up a message to justify this step and to bid farewell to the country. Perhaps, he said, he was the only obstacle to a reconciliation between Holland and France; in this case it would be some consolation to drag out the remainder of his existence far from the first objects of his affections. He hoped that justice would be

rendered to his intentions, and that the closing scene of his career as a monarch would prove that he had never deceived the nation, that he had always acted in its interests, and that the faults he had committed [towards his brother] had arisen from his efforts to do his best for Holland under circumstances of exceptional difficulty.

It is generally admitted that if Louis did not make a better king, it was no fault of his own, but that of Napoleon, who would never allow him to indulge in any popular measures, or to govern constitutionally, as Louis wished to govern. The slightest popularity gave offence to his brother, whose jealousy exceeded all bounds. Prince Eugène declared that when Viceroy of Italy the Emperor obliged him to pass unjust measures lest he should inspire too much affection on the part of his subjects. There is a story told of Louis having been attacked in the most unprovoked and virulent manner by a priest. His ministers were of opinion that the offender should be thrown into prison, but his Majesty pursued a very different course; he sent for the curé, expostulated with him, explained his policy, and finished by convincing and making a friend of him. This was certainly not the Imperial system. It more resembled Frederick the Great asking a deserter to try one more campaign, and promising to desert with him if matters did not turn out better. All such concessions as these were abhorrent to Napoleon.

Accompanied by a few faithful friends, Louis fled from Haarlem, managing, not without considerable difficulty, to pass safely through the French lines. 'He abandoned his kingdom,' says M. Lanfrey, 'as

one escapes from a prison.' The people are generally good judges of the qualities of their sovereign, more especially when he is a foreigner. King Louis left behind him in Holland the memory of an honest man with a benevolent heart. All the more homage should be rendered to his virtues, since they were due to his misfortunes.' But, as Napoleon said, it is not enough for a king to be benevolent, he must act like a monarch and be firm, and firmness of purpose was just what Louis lacked. His misfortunes, instead of being caused by his virtues, were due to his weakness and tergiversation. He was constantly passing from one extreme to the other; now submitting with the servility of a slave, and anon resisting with unreasoning obstinacy. Nations require something more than good kings. Macaulay, for example, shows that the six first French kings, with their virtues and their talents, were a curse to their country, which was only saved by the follies and the vices of the seventh.

We have already referred to the letter of Napoleon to Caulaincourt, bitterly complaining of Louis running away to Germany without giving him notice, and as if flying from a tyrant. But Louis had recently been held a close prisoner in Paris until he had signed a shameful treaty incapable of execution, and when he found the cordon of French troops gradually closing round him he considered it prudent to decamp, since his ministers were opposed to fighting. He made his escape to Bohemia, and it was a month before Napoleon or anyone else knew what had become of the runaway monarch. According to Savary, Napoleon, on learning the abdication of Louis, was perfectly thunderstruck. He had counted upon being able to

accomplish his designs without a scandal, and without removing the mask of moderation he had assumed on marrying Marie Louise. By an unfortunate coincidence, at the moment when Louis took to flight without beat of drum, Prince Lucien, who had been residing peacefully with his wife and family in the Papal States, also thought it prudent to fly, and preferred becoming the prisoner of England to falling into the hands of Napoleon. There was also bad news from Joseph, who was threatening in his doleful letters to leave Madrid. 'The conduct of Louis,' wrote Napoleon to his mother and Jerome, 'is inexplicable, and can only be attributed to the state of his health.' The Emperor appeared incapable of supposing that his brother had been influenced by any ordinary motives when relinquishing his crown, and in fact there was just a touch of malice in the matter. In 1809 Napoleon had given the eldest surviving son of Louis the duchy of Berg[1] and Cleves, which had been bestowed upon Murat before he was made King of Naples. Louis was pleased enough with this gift, until he perceived that it was Napoleon's intention to separate him from his son. This was the feather which appears to have broken the camel's back. Then, before giving this dukedom to Napoleon Louis, the Emperor had not consulted the King of Holland on the subject. Naturally and perhaps not unreasonably suspicious of his brother, Louis determined

[1] Berg, rich with the memories of that projected double marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Wilhelmina, and the Crown Prince of Prussia (Frederick the Great), and the Princess Amelia, which was finally abandoned, in spite of poor Fred and Fritz swearing eternal constancy, because England could not guarantee Berg and Juliers to his Prussian Majesty, who had set his heart thereon.

on abdicating his throne in order to place the Emperor in an awkward position. He was tolerably certain that Napoleon, in constantly picking quarrels with him, was merely desirous of finding an excuse for annexing Holland to France, and he made up his mind to put him to the test. In his message to the Chambers he had expressed the hope that his withdrawal from the scene would remove all obstacles to a better understanding between France and Holland. All Napoleon's complaints had been directed against his brother. In addition to the slightly insidious allusion in his farewell message, Louis had another Parthian arrow in his quiver. He abdicated in favour of his son, arguing that if the Emperor recognised him it would certainly prove that his complaints, if unjustified, were sincere; but if, on the contrary, as he expected would be the case, the Emperor refused to admit the arrangement, Europe would see the true pretext of all this wrangling. It is probable that Louis soon regretted having left his son behind him, for he was deeply attached to the boy. It was a heartless act upon his part, and was destined to cause him trouble and sorrow; but the idea of revenging himself on his powerful brother and placing him in a false position was not to be resisted.

Napoleon acted with his usual decision. He at once despatched Marshal Lauriston to Holland to seize upon the young prince and to bring him to St. Cloud. 'Come, my son,' he said to him, 'I will be your father, and you will lose nothing by the change. The conduct of your father afflicts my heart; his malady alone can account for it. Never forget, in no matter what position my policy and the interest of

my empire may place you, that your first duty is towards me, and your second towards France. All your duties, even those towards the people I may confide to your care, only come after.' History has not recorded what the youthful prince, six years of age, thought of these serious injunctions. King Louis, who had sought refuge at Töplitz, on reaching that place wrote a letter to M. de Bourgoing, the French ambassador at Dresden, explaining and excusing his conduct. He said he had been forced to descend from his throne for defending a country unjustly oppressed. But perhaps the regency which would govern in the name of his son would entirely carry out the wishes of the Emperor, which he could not do. 'I have every reason to believe,' he added, 'that my brother will approve of my abdication.' But the rapidity and secresy of his flight into Germany hardly bore out this assertion. He asked the ambassador, too, to plead his cause, and said, 'I have selected Dresden on account of the salubrity of its air and its waters; however, should the Emperor desire me to go elsewhere, I will do so with submission.'

On July 28, 1810, Prince Metternich, then in Paris, trying to fathom the intentions of Napoleon after his marriage with Marie Louise, wrote a despatch to the Emperor Francis, in which he said:

It was by a courier sent to Paris by the Saxon cabinet that the Emperor Napoleon was informed of the arrival of the King of Holland at Töplitz.

I saw the Emperor the same day, and his Majesty having acquainted me with the news he had just received, I conceived myself all the more authorised to explain myself

clearly on the subject, as he had, the evening before, communicated to me all the details of the flight. I told the Emperor that, being convinced that my court would not wish to fail in respect towards a member of the Imperial family of France, nor to show itself too friendly towards a prince who had sought a refuge on Austrian territory, I should render your Imperial Majesty a service in informing you of the wishes of the Emperor Napoleon respecting his brother. I also asked if his Majesty would like to see him treated as a French prince or as a simple traveller.

The Emperor appeared much pleased with this attention, and said that the king having assumed a private name, it appeared to him he had no right to exact any honours. He expressed his satisfaction that the king had selected our country; he did not conceal that he had feared he would cross the sea, and that his flight into Russia would have been hardly more agreeable. I observed to the Emperor that in coming to us the king no doubt considered he was not leaving his family, and the Emperor afterwards returned twenty times to this idea, which appeared to flatter him greatly.

He entered into a great many details on the folly of the conduct of the king, which he stigmatised in the 'Moniteur' of December 22. It cannot be denied that the king placed himself in a false position; he had only the choice between playing the part of a brother or that of a dispossessed sovereign. In the first case he should not have risked a quarrel, and should have yielded to force; in the second he should have imitated the example of the Prince of Brazil, and have placed himself at the head of his colonies. This is the opinion of the public concerning him, and this public is not aware that he has already addressed an *amende honorable* from Dresden, a fact which leads me to suppose that his physical sufferings greatly influenced his moral resolutions on this occasion. The Emperor has taken charge of the royal prince (Napoleon Louis), and he will have no difficulty in justifying the principles advanced in his article

in the 'Moniteur,' which has caused a sensation difficult to describe upon all persons interested in public affairs.

It is perfectly in accordance with the wishes of the French Emperor that the king should receive no honours, but I nevertheless consider it my duty to submit to your Majesty my conviction, that while allowing the king to enjoy the most strict incognito, it would be well to order the local authorities to show him attention. The Emperor will take this into account should the king on his return express himself satisfied with his sojourn among us, and especially if he ascribes these forms to pure courtesy; it is almost impossible to imagine what attention the Emperor pays to these little shades.

One cannot but admire this despatch, and the adroit manner in which Prince Metternich tickled the peculiar foibles of the new Charlemagne, so sensitively alive to flattery where his family was concerned. The suggestion that Louis should have repaired to his colonies is not worthy of a statesman like Metternich. What claim had Louis on the Dutch colonies? How could he have reached them? Who would have accompanied him? Had not most of them been captured by the English? There was no single point of comparison between the House of Bonaparte in Holland and that of Braganza in Portugal, except that they had both been ill-treated by Napoleon.

The French ambassador at Dresden (for Töplitz, though on Austrian territory, lies close to that city) endeavoured to persuade King Louis to return to France, but he declared himself weary of the grandeurs of his throne, and anxious to enjoy repose. On July 20 he wrote in this strain to the Cardinal Fesch:

My dear Uncle,—I have been at the watering-place of Töplitz for the last ten days, and experience the benefit of

the change. I have written to my mother and to Pauline, but I am so far off that I have reason to fear my letters have not arrived. You are at present the only member of the family with the Emperor. Tell me, I beg of you, if you think he will permit me to live in tranquillity and obscurity. That is all my desire.

He also consulted his uncle about purchasing some property in Corsica, and retiring to his native island. But Louis soon received orders to return to Paris. M. Decazes, of all people in the world, was despatched to endeavour to bring him home, but he failed. M. Otto, the French ambassador at the Court of Vienna, was then charged to write to his Majesty as follows:

The duty of every French prince, as a member of the Imperial family, is to reside in France, and he cannot absent himself without the permission of the Emperor. Directly after the union of Holland with France the Emperor tolerated the king residing at Töplitz on account of his health; but to-day his Majesty enjoins Prince Louis, as a French prince and grand dignitary, to return to France before December 1, on the pain of being considered disobedient to the Empire, and to the head of the family, and being treated accordingly.

Louis turned a deaf ear to this injunction, nor was a second mission of M. Decazes more successful than the first.

From Töplitz the Comte de St. Leu, as Louis now called himself, went to Grätz, and he had not been there more than two months when he learned that a Senatus Consultum had accorded him a large addition to his property at St. Leu as an appanage, and by way of an indemnity for Holland. The irritation of Louis was unbounded. In spite of his desire to spend the

remainder of his days in tranquillity and obscurity, and to settle down in the neighbourhood of Ajaccio, he wrote to the Senate in the most impetuous manner, that 'he was far from expecting this mortal blow; that he owed it to the name of the Emperor, which was also his own, and to that of his children, as well as to the people he had belonged to since June 5, 1806, to declare publicly, that, bound for ever to Holland, he refused the appanage, both for himself and his family. He had also ordered the queen to refuse it.' On the same day he wrote to his wife, saying, 'My grief and misfortune would be at their height were I to accept this shameful appanage. I order you to refuse the least portion of so vile a gift. I annul your consent if you have already given it. All my private property is at your disposal,' &c. All this wrath appears ludicrous on the part of a king who had abdicated in favour of his son, whose throne his subjects refused to defend, and who had taken up his residence abroad as the Comte de St. Leu. The shameful appanage, by the way, was accepted by the queen.

For a couple of years Louis was allowed to enjoy that tranquillity for which he professed himself so anxious, and he devoted himself to literature and art at Grätz, while his wife, at last granted a separation, and allowed 80,000*l.* a year, occupied herself with the education of her children, aided by the Abbé Bertrand. She too appears to have enjoyed some necessary repose during these two years, although they were pregnant with great events of a military and political character.

As soon as Louis heard of the disastrous retreat from Moscow, he wrote to Napoleon, placing himself at his disposal:

Convinced (he said) that there has never been a more critical moment for France, for your name, and for you, I should not be performing my duty were I not to yield to the impulse of my heart. I come, therefore, sire, to offer to the country of my birth, to you, to my name, the little health I have remaining and all the services of which I am capable, if I can do so with honour.—I am, your Majesty's most respectful and devoted brother.

A fortnight afterwards Napoleon replied that if Louis returned he would receive him as a father receives a son, but that he had a very false notion of the state of affairs, for he had still a million of soldiers at his back and two hundred million francs in the treasury. He added that Holland was French, and for ever, and after employing many cutting expressions, terminated by saying he should write no more.

In 1813, when hostilities between France and Austria were on the eve of breaking out, Louis left Grätz and took refuge in Switzerland, where he published a little volume of poems, which contained such simple verses as the following farewell to his late home in the Styrian mountains :

Adieu, florissante contrée,
Où nul ne comprit tous mes maux,
Mais où, l'âme triste, éplorée,
J'ai souvent rêvé le repos . . .
Mais rien n'est pour un long usage
Dans ce monde trop incertain ;
Le temps est un bac de passage
Où nos pas s'attachent en vain.
Confidents d'un cœur solitaire,
Jeunes arbres, mes seuls amis,
Puisse votre ombre hospitalière
Mieux abriter d'autres proscrits !

A feeble and melancholy composition. It was also at

Grätz that the unfortunate Louis retouched a novel which he had published many years before in Paris, entitled 'Marie, ou les peines de l'amour,' in which he is supposed to have depicted his own feelings on not being allowed to marry Emilie de Beauharnais. The novel opens with a description of Adolphe and Jules, two loving swains, who are packed off to join the army of the Alps, as Louis was ordered to Egypt. Adolphe loves Corinne, for whose bright eyes Theodore goes out of his mind and Ernest commits suicide. As for Jules, the news of his death reaching Marie, she bestows her hand on a wealthy duke. Jules in despair marries Sophie, who nursed him when he was wounded, but she dies on her wedding night. The duke falls in love with Corinne and deserts Marie, who consents to fly with Jules. The duke then dies, Jules and Marie are married, and Corinne elopes to America with a rich Spaniard. Such is the outline of the novel upon which Louis Bonaparte considered it worth while to expend his faculties. It is true that here and there we have a few interesting pages on Dutch life, and a little melancholy abuse of his own countrymen, who sacrifice everything that is solid and essential in life for amusement, and whose greatest pleasure is derived from the excitement of movement.

In 1813 came the terrible battle of Leipsic, which, though partially retrieved, struck a formidable blow at the power of Napoleon. Louis once more wrote to offer his services and to obtain permission to return to Holland, where he thought his presence would be useful to his brother. He met with a second rebuff. Napoleon exclaimed, 'I would sooner see Holland in the possession of the Prince of Orange than in that of

my brother.' Murat, passing through Switzerland on his way back to Naples, gave Louis the brotherly advice to re-enter Holland with the allies, he himself having made up his mind to try and save his crown by deserting the cause of Napoleon. Louis indignantly rejected this advice, declaring that nothing would ever induce him to fight against France. But this did not prevent him, when Holland was abandoned by the French troops, and when a provisional government had been established in the country, from offering his services to that government—services which were declined.

The Empress Josephine, when she heard of the possibility of Louis's returning to France, immediately wrote the following letter to her daughter:

Malmaison: 1813.

Dear Hortense,—M. and Madame de Rémusat came to dine at the Malmaison to-day. They assure me that King Louis has written to the Emperor in order to make friends with him, saying that now he is in difficulties he desires never to leave him again. This is very praiseworthy, but his return makes me fear new trouble for you. Courage, my dear daughter; a pure mind like yours always ends in triumphing.

JOSEPHINE.

On January 1, 1814, Louis ventured back to Paris, after having been driven out of Switzerland, and took up his residence with Madame Mère, who must have been getting very much alarmed about the future. It was some time before Napoleon would consent to see his brother, and when he at last agreed to an interview on the solicitation of Marie Louise, Louis was told that he must make his appearance as a French

prince and a subject, and not as King of Holland. During the time which preceded the capitulation of Paris, Louis as well as Joseph made frequent attempts to induce Napoleon to listen to reason instead of rushing headlong to perdition. On March 16 he implored the Emperor to treat with the allies, telling him that it only required a little coolness and common sense to see that if he refused his Empire would not endure six weeks. The allies were gradually closing round the capital, and the Duc de Plaisance, who had been exercising extraordinary powers in Holland since the abdication of King Louis, was obliged to leave Amsterdam, which was menaced by the Swedish contingent under Bernadotte, who in 1809 had commanded the French troops in the same country. We have seen Joseph consulting Louis as to what course he should pursue when Napoleon called upon him to resign the crown of Spain. Louis said that when he was told that the Emperor would not receive him as King of Holland, this was the reply he made to the Duc de Vicence (Caulaincourt):

> As long as Holland is occupied by the enemy I do not pretend to the title of king. I came here solely as a Frenchman, to share the dangers of the moment and to make myself as useful as possible. Should Holland again fall into the hands of the Emperor, and should he refuse to restore it to me, my conscience as a king would prevent me from remaining in France, and I would leave the country once more. On the contrary, if, on the conclusion of peace, Holland be ceded to another prince, and not to the Emperor, and should my renunciation become necessary, I shall not refuse it.

Neither Joseph nor Louis, in spite of their maudlin

protestations, could reconcile themselves to the idea of the loss of their royal dignities.

Louis played no prominent part in the defence of Paris. Had he been able to trust him, his brother might have sent him to Antwerp, which still remained in the hands of the French; but as it was, Carnot was entrusted with the command of that place, and he only surrendered it to the allies after the abdication of Napoleon. The Prince Royal of Sweden had tried to open negotiations with him, but Carnot replied, 'I was the friend of the French General Bernadotte, but I am the enemy of the foreign prince who turns his arms against his country.'

After the capitulation of Paris, Louis accompanied his brothers and the Empress Marie Louise to Blois, where, it being the holy week, he gave himself up to prayer and fasting, and after the abdication he hurried to Rome, where he was received with open arms by Pius VII., who had himself just recovered his liberty. Louis shortly afterwards, however, removed to Florence, which had a peculiar attraction for the Bonapartes, and from that city he despatched a messenger to Malmaison, claiming his two sons. Hortense in her fright at first proposed to fly to Martinique with Napoleon Louis and Louis Napoleon. The Emperor was at Elba and unable any longer to protect her, and her mother had expired after an illness of a few days. However, she opened negotiations on the subject, and Louis declared he would be satisfied on the condition of receiving the elder of his two sons. Hortense refused, and sought the protection of the law, arguing that her children could not be obliged to renounce their rights as French citizens and to go

into exile. We find in her memoirs that she had an interview on this subject with Louis XVIII., who expressed himself so pleased with the grace and simplicity of her manners that his courtiers ventured to quiz him on the matter, to advise him to procure a divorce for the step-daughter and sister-in-law of his immediate predecessor, and to marry her! But Madame du Cayla had too great a hold over his Most Christian Majesty. The Court of the Seine pronounced in favour of Louis, but before its judgment could be carried into effect, Napoleon returned from Elba, and naturally no legal decision held good against his sovereign will, as defined by the Senatus Consultum of year XII.

During 'the hundred days' Louis held aloof. Joseph and Lucien and Jerome all showed a certain amount of intrepidity in fighting for a desperate cause; but the ex-King of Holland remained in Italy while the last act of a great tragedy was being performed. He disapproved of the attempt of his brother to upset a regular form of government. It was all very well for Napoleon to 'pick up the crown of France from the gutter with the point of his sword'; but he had no more right to dethrone Louis XVIII. than he had to cheat the Bourbons of Spain out of their kingdom.

In the 'Memorial of St. Helena' Napoleon is made to say:

> On my return from the Isle of Elba in 1815, Louis wrote me a long letter from Rome, and sent me a kind of ultimatum, laying down the conditions upon which he would return. Will it be believed that one of these conditions was that he should be permitted to divorce Hortense? I

severely ill-treated the negotiator for presuming to charge himself with so absurd a mission. The statutes of our family formally forbade this; policy, morality, and public opinion were not less opposed to it! I caused Louis to be reminded of this, and to be assured that if his children lost their position, I would take no more notice of them or of him.

Perhaps the perversity of Louis may be accounted for by the cruel state of his health; the age at which it was affected, and the atrocious circumstances attending his illness, no doubt had a great influence on his moral condition. He nearly died; he never recovered his infirmities, and he remained paralysed on one side.

It is certain that I was not well seconded by my family, and that they did great harm to me and my cause. My force of character has often been praised, but I behaved like a chicken in dealing with my family, and they knew it. When the first outburst was passed, their perseverance and obstinacy always carried the day. If each of them had given a common impulse to the masses confided to them, we should have marched to the two poles. We should have changed the face of the world. Europe would have enjoyed a new system, and we should have been blessed! I had not the good luck of Genghis Khan with his four sons. When I named a king he immediately thought himself a monarch *by the grace of God.* He was no longer a lieutenant on whom I could depend, but an enemy I had to watch. They all had the mania to believe themselves adored, and preferred to me. All their efforts were directed towards making themselves independent. It was I who hampered and imperilled them. Legitimate monarchs would not have acted otherwise, or have considered themselves more securely anchored. When I succumbed they were soon made acquainted with the esteem in which they were held.

Louis had no sooner arrived in Holland, than he took it into his head to give out that he was a good Dutchman; he

handed himself over to the English party, favoured smuggling, and entered into relations with our enemies. It was therefore necessary to watch him closely and to threaten him. Of a weak disposition, he sought refuge in obstinacy, and mistaking a scandal for glory, he fled from his throne, protesting against my insatiable ambition and intolerable tyranny. I could not leave Holland at the disposal of my enemies, nor could I appoint a new king, who would probably have acted like Louis. I therefore annexed Holland, and this act had the worst possible effect upon Europe, and prepared our misfortunes.

When Napoleon returned from Elba he showed himself dissatisfied with Hortense for having remained in Paris during his exile and for having gone to court, but she was able to exculpate herself; and she and her sons occupied the place of Marie Louise and the King of Rome. Hortense refused to listen to the advice of her friends, who feared that if she resided under the same roof as Napoleon, this fact would revive the old scandal first circulated ten years before. A very touching account is given in a History of Malmaison of a visit which the Emperor and Hortense paid to the mansion where Napoleon had spent the first days of his glory with Josephine; he wandered about the desolate grounds, and finally stood, bareheaded and overcome with emotion, before the tomb of the woman he had sacrificed to his ambition.

After the second abdication, Louis, who had refused the duchy of St. Leu from the Bourbons, and to keep any portion of the appanage accorded by the Senatus Consultum of 1810, once more claimed his children, and at last obtained possession of Napoleon Louis, although, as Hortense said, his father was a perfect stranger to him. The younger son, destined

to become Napoleon III., remained with his mother, who settled at Arenenberg. The ex-Queen Hortense might possibly have remained in Paris, but she received notice to quit from the Prussian General Muffling, who had been appointed military governor of Paris. It is strange to mark that M. Decazes, with whom her Majesty had acted indiscreetly, earned his political reputation at this period by directing, in his capacity of prefect of police, that a certain order posted up by command of General Muffling should be removed by his agents. This order directed the sentries to fire on any person who even looked askance at them.

Louis for many years devoted himself to literary pursuits and the education of his eldest son, who shortly after his marriage with Joseph's second daughter died at Forli, to the great grief of his father and mother, who had both at one time abandoned him, and had afterwards fought for him. Hortense abandoned him when she fled from Holland just before the abdication of her husband, and Louis abandoned him when he abdicated in his favour, in order to play Napoleon a scurvy trick, which perfectly succeeded.

On November 15, 1836, Louis wrote the following letter to the Duc de Padoue, in which he alluded to the son he had lost, and the son who was still alive, and who had just got into trouble at Strasburg:

My dear Cousin,—The new calamity I have experienced has fallen upon me like a thunderbolt. In spite of the great misfortune I had four years ago to lose my eldest son, in consequence of his having been seduced into an infernal intrigue, his brother, who was then compromised,

has allowed himself to be dragged once more into an attempt as mad as it is serious. You know the state of my health, and how impossible it is for me to act for myself. I therefore entreat you to take some steps on my behalf with the Government, and with persons I formerly knew, such as the Duc Decazes (!), Comte Molé, and others, and try and get my son sent to England with his mother. His escapade might surely be pardoned on account of the absurdity of an attempt in which no one lost his life. It would be useless to speak to you of my gratitude, &c. &c.

LOUIS.

As the Queen Hortense died the year after this Strasburg enterprise, and the arrest and banishment of her son, it is probable that her end was hastened by the event. She, however, had the consolation of seeing Louis Napoleon once more, for he arrived from America just in time to close her eyes. His failure at Strasburg, the death of his mother, and the disapproval of his father, did not hinder him in 1840 from landing at Boulogne. Thrown into prison, he managed to effect his escape from Ham and to reach England. In 1846 poor Louis died at Florence, greatly affected in consequence of the British and French Governments refusing his son a passport to enable him to repair to his deathbed. The King of Rome having died, Joseph having died without leaving any male heirs, and Louis and his two eldest sons having likewise died, Louis Napoleon became the chief of the family, a fact which Napoleon I. little contemplated when he first showed the infant to his troops in the garden of the Tuileries.

It would be impossible to close this doleful story without alluding to a certain incident in the career of the Queen Hortense. In a marginal note, M. Paul

de Rémusat explains that when his grandmother, who never loses an occasion in her memoirs to celebrate the virtues of the Queen Hortense, wrote, she was convinced of the truth of all she said. He adds: 'A contrary opinion, however, prevails, and appears to be confirmed by the great honours conferred by her son Napoleon III. on the Duc de Morny.'

An ardent Bonapartist, M. Granier de Cassagnac, has written to the following effect in his 'Recollections of the Second Empire':

Rumours (he says) were spread, at the time of the *coup d'état*, concerning the illustrious origin of the Duc de Morny, to which the name of the Comte de Flahaut was publicly attached. It was in 1852 that he took me into his confidence, at a reception at the Ministry of the Interior. Taking me by the hand and leading me up to an elderly gentleman of lofty stature and imposing appearance, he said, 'Let me present you to my father, the Comte de Flahaut.' The biographers of M. de Morny state that he was mysteriously brought up by the Comtesse de Souza, the mother of the Comte de Flahaut by her first marriage. . . . M. de Morny was highly flattered by this illustrious origin (*sic*), which inspired him with the ambition of being recognised as a prince; a desire which could not have been gratified without casting a slur on the name of his mother. . . . In 1856 M. de Morny went to Russia to represent the French Emperor at the coronation of the Czar. On this occasion he had 'a violent fit of inveterate ambition,' and took for *armes parlantes* a hortensia in flower. To render this heraldic language more clear, he added as a device the words, *Tace, sed memento.*

It is to be remarked that M. de Morny was born in 1811, while poor Louis was at Töplitz, writing poetry and endeavouring to reinvigorate his shattered constitution. The liaison between his father and

mother had been a matter of public notoriety for eighteen months past. The Christian names of M. de Flahaut were Charles Auguste Joseph. His illegitimate son was christened Charles Auguste *Louis* Joseph. M. de Flahaut confided him to his mother, Madame de Souza, who is reported to have been very intimate with M. de Talleyrand. The veteran diplomatist is said to have been much struck with the precocious wit of the young de Morny, and to have said to him, 'My little fellow, you will one day be a minister.' Louis Napoleon and de Morny only met a very short time before the *coup d'état* of 1851, and the Count was made War Minister. For several years he was President of the Legislative Body, and filled that post in the most conciliatory manner. When he was dying, Napoleon III. and the Comte de Flahaut met at his bedside. He was generally regretted, and was succeeded in the Lower Chamber by Count Walewski, the natural son of Napoleon I.

X.

JEROME BONAPARTE.

JEROME, the youngest child of Charles and Lætitia Bonaparte, was born in 1784 at Ajaccio, and was destined to see many forms of government in France, many strange vicissitudes of fortune, and to be buried in 1860 under the dome of the Invalides, close to the magnificent tomb of his illustrious brother Napoleon. On the night of May 23, 1793, when Madame Bonaparte, with her son, Louis, her daughters Eliza and Pauline, and the Abbé Fesch, were obliged to fly for their lives from Ajaccio, Caroline and Jerome, the two youngest children, were left behind secreted in the house of their grandmother. In the month of June, however, the whole family were united at Toulon. Jerome was then eight years of age. After having shared the privations of his family, he was sent to school at Juilly, and in 1800 entered the Consular Guard as a private soldier. Towards the close of the same year Jerome was shifted into the navy, joined the 'Indivisible,' and took part in the St. Domingo expedition. Several tales are told of the premature extravagance of Jerome, whose reckless expenditure much irritated Napoleon, and we find traces of this dissatisfaction in the Correspondence. In reply to one demand for funds Napoleon wrote in 1802:

Paris: 6th Messidor, year X.

I have seen your letter, Mr. Midshipman, and am anxious to hear of your being on board your corvette studying your profession, which should be the theatre of your glory. Die young, and I shall be consoled; but not so if you live sixty years without glory, without utility to your country, and without leaving any trace of your passage through life. Better never to have existed.

To Jerome, Midshipman.

Jerome must have made fair progress in his profession, for in the same year he received the command of the 'Epervier,' and served, not without distinction, in American waters.

On another occasion, Joseph, during the absence of Napoleon, having advanced Jerome 100,000 francs to pay his debts, was reprimanded in these terms:

My Brother,—I am astonished you should have drawn on the civil list. I will give Jerome nothing beyond his allowance, which is more than sufficient for him, and larger than that of any prince in Europe. My firm intention is to allow him to be imprisoned for debt. I deprecate the follies committed for him at Brest [a public reception]. He requires glory and not honours. It is beyond all conception what this young gentleman costs me, while he merely gives me trouble and is of no service to my system. Upon which I pray God to have you in His holy keeping. Your very affectionate brother,

NAPOLEON.

While on the American station, Jerome made the acquaintance of William Patterson at Baltimore, and soon fell in love with his daughter, a girl of extraordinary wit, beauty, and fascinating manners, and, strange to say, resembling in many points, both physically and morally, Napoleon Bonaparte. Jerome

was madly enamoured of the charming Betsy, and she on her side, dazzled with the brilliant prospect of marrying the brother of the First Consul of the French Republic, was so eager for the alliance, that she declared she would sooner be the wife of Jerome for an hour than that of any other man for life. It appears that, at their first interview, which took place on a race-course, Miss Patterson treated Jerome with an amount of indifference which bordered on *hauteur*, and that this attitude, no doubt assumed, contributed to captivate the young naval officer. The lady has left it on record how she was dressed on that auspicious occasion. She wore a chamois-coloured gown of very scanty dimensions, a lace neck-handkerchief, and an enormous hat ornamented with pink gauze and long ostrich plumes. The course of this love was not destined to run smoothly.

On October 7, 1803, Jerome announced to the French consul-general at New York his intention of marrying Miss Patterson. That functionary, M. Pichon, who at once comprehended the gravity of the affair and foresaw the vexation which such an union would occasion to Napoleon, immediately wrote three letters to Baltimore, couched in identical terms, and protesting against the intended marriage, on the ground that it would not be considered valid in France as being contracted abroad, because Jerome was a minor, because he had not obtained the consent of his mother, and because the banns had not been published at his birthplace. One of these letters was addressed to Jerome himself, the second to Mr. Patterson, and the third to M. Débécourt, the French consular agent at Baltimore. The latter gentleman was directed to ex-

plain the French law to Mr. Patterson and his daughter, and to point out that no Frenchman could marry before being twenty-five years of age without the consent of his parents. Mr. Patterson appears to have been seriously alarmed by this warning, especially as he was assured that Jerome, on returning to France, would send his daughter back and laugh at him. Mr. Patterson desired that the engagement should be at an end. However, on November 5, M. Pichon, and the Spanish minister, the Marquis d'Yrajo, who had played a conspicuous part in the affair, received invitations from Jerome to the wedding. M. Pichon declined, and so did the Marquis, after listening to the protests of the French consul-general. The next day Jerome announced that the marriage, which had been fixed for November 7, was definitively broken off. He regretted all the fuss that had been made over the affair, declared that he had been subjected to other influences beyond the natural seductions and beauty of Miss Patterson, and expressed the hope that the matter would not be mentioned to the First Consul. Mr. Patterson sent his daughter to Virginia, and Jerome went on a tour in the north.

However, the passion awakened appears to have been too intense upon both sides to be thus lightly shaken off. The lovers were soon back again at Baltimore, Mr. Patterson gave a reluctant consent to the union, and on December 25, 1803, M. Pichon, to his great grief and amazement, received the following epistle from Jerome's secretary, M. Lecamus:

Sir,—I have the honour to announce, on behalf of M. Jerome Bonaparte, that his marriage with Mdlle. Patterson was celebrated yesterday evening. He desires me to say

that he is very anxious to receive the 4,000 dollars, as he has pressing engagements to meet.

It seems that Jerome had presented his affianced bride with a splendid *trousseau*, and it was probably to pay for this that he required money. For her nuptial toilette, however (a toilette which she preserved to the day of her death), Miss Patterson selected a simple dress of Indian muslin, which she had often worn before—a mere suspicion of a dress, allowing her splendid neck and arms to be freely admired. This dress was covered with old lace, and for sole ornament she wore round her neck a string of pearls. The wedding costume of the bridegroom is still preserved by the Baltimore Bonapartes. He wore a purple satin coat, ornamented with lace and richly embroidered, and the tails, which, after the fashion of the Directory, came down to the heels, were lined with white satin. Short breeches, silks, shoes and diamond buckles, completed his bridal garments. After his wedding Jerome had some idea of returning at once to Europe, but in the end he listened to the entreaties of Mr. Patterson and his wife, who implored him to remain in America until his marriage had been recognised in France.

In those days communication between Paris and New York was extremely slow, for vessels plying between France and America were not only detained by bad weather, but English cruisers had to be avoided. It was only in June 1804 that M. Pichon received a despatch from Talleyrand on the subject of the marriage. Talleyrand pointed out that the marriage was contrary to the law of the 26th Pluviose, year XI. (Feb. 15, 1803), whose clauses had been pointed out to Jerome and Mr. Patterson before the ceremony.

He declared that the union could not be recognised, and that the Pattersons had wittingly placed themselves in a false position.

The marriage had in fact only been concluded in accordance with the law of the State of Maryland, the religious ceremony being performed by the Right Reverend J. Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore and Primate of the Catholic Church in the United States. The form in which the marriage contract was drawn up sufficiently betrayed the apprehensions inspired with regard to the validity of the union. This contract, passed between Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson on one part, and William Patterson on the other, stipulated, first, that the marriage between Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson should be celebrated in due legal form and in such a manner as to ensure the validity of said marriage, as well as concerns the laws of the State of Maryland as those of the French Republic; and if ever in future any doubt should arise respecting the validity of the said marriage in Maryland or in the French Republic, the said Jerome should undertake at all times, and whenever called upon by the said Elizabeth Patterson and said William Patterson, or one of them, to remove all difficulties, and to give the union all the validity of a perfect marriage, in accordance with the laws of the State of Maryland and of the French Republic.

It was also stipulated that in event of a separation *a vinculo*, or *a mensa et thoro*, Elizabeth Patterson should enjoy a third of the mutual property. It is clear from the stipulations of the contract that the Pattersons were aware of the risk they were running in acting in opposition to French law, and this was

a most important matter, as we shall see hereafter. They based most of their confidence in Jerome making good an irregular union, which would not be considered binding in France, and they were possibly induced to act in this manner as the Catholic Church refuses to annul marriages for irregularities which may be rectified.

The first step taken by Mr. Patterson to procure the recognition of the marriage in France was to despatch his son Robert on a mission to Paris. Robert Patterson first had an interview with Lucien, who, he says, assured him that his mother and the rest of the family heartily approved of the match. Lucien added—'Not so the First Consul, who is isolated, and all whose actions, as the first magistrate of a great nation, are dictated by policy. We have the highest respect for the young lady, and are gratified at the connection; and the Pattersons should not feel hurt at the displeasure of the First Consul. Though of an age to be my own master, and occupying an important post, I have also incurred displeasure by my late marriage, and Jerome is not alone. But as when we marry we must consult our own happiness, and not that of another person, it little matters who is or who is not to be displeased.' The best thing, Lucien said, that Jerome could do would be to remain where he was, and become a citizen of the United States. This bit of advice, however, if sent across the Atlantic, must have been considered most unpalatable, alike by Jerome and Elizabeth, who were both far too ambitious to dream of settling down quietly at Baltimore while so splendid a drama was being performed in

Europe, and while there was a fair chance of playing a part on a more brilliant stage.

After remaining silent for some time, Napoleon broke out in his usual violent manner. No more money was to be advanced to Citizen Jerome; he was to return to France immediately; two frigates were despatched to bring him back, but 'the young person' with whom he had connected himself was not to be received on board. He was to be reminded of what had just happened to Lucien, who had been forced to leave France and become a simple spectator of the destinies of his august brother; he was assured that no matter what her accomplishments might be, the First Consul would never receive 'the young person.' It was, however, a slight consolation for the loving couple to receive at this moment a letter from Joseph full of kindly professions and compliments to Madame Jerome.

Jerome delayed his departure from America as much as possible, and the winds and the waves and the British cruisers seemed to have entered into a league to prolong his honeymoon. The English declared that Monsieur Bonaparte, who had escaped their clutches at Martinique, should not elude their vigilance a second time, and kept a sharp look-out for the brother of the First Consul. At length Jerome felt that he must either break altogether with Napoleon and renounce France, or return home. The 'Didon' and the 'Cybele' were waiting for him, and, at the earnest request of the consul-general, he at last determined to embark on board the former frigate; but they were not out of the bay of New York when they were attacked by the 'Cambrian' and the

'Boston,' aided by the sloop 'Driver,' and obliged to put back.

At this juncture the news of the declaration of the Empire reached America, and Jerome learned to his great mortification that both Lucien and himself had been cut off from the succession, and at the same time that the French Senate had pronounced the nullity of his marriage. His marriage was ignored, and at the same time he was disinherited for having married. He now became as anxious to return to France as he had formerly been anxious to find pretexts for remaining in America until the storm had blown over; but in spite of all his entreaties Admiral Brouard refused to make another effort to break the English blockade. At last, in the autumn, being tired of waiting, Jerome chartered a private vessel, in which he put to sea; but the fates were adverse once more, and he and his bride were cast ashore before they could get out of Delaware Bay. Nor was a third effort more successful. The frigate 'Présidente' had managed to bring out safely a French ambassador, General Thureau, who was not to recognise Mademoiselle, and Jerome persuaded the captain of that vessel to receive himself and his wife on board, and to convey them to France. Alas! as the 'Présidente' was standing out to sea, she found H.M.S. 'Resolution,' forty-four guns, barring the way, and much to the wrath of Jerome, who deeply felt the humiliation, the French captain declined battle, and put back into harbour. It was only in the beginning of 1805 that Jerome and his wife were able to effect their escape from the United States on board the Yankee brig 'Erin,' and in the month of April they reached Lis-

bon, which was then in the hands of the French. It was the intention of Madame Jerome to throw herself at the feet of Napoleon; she counted that the heart of the Emperor would be touched by her supplications, and that he would be unable to resist her tears and her beauty. But alas, strict orders had been given at all the French ports, and the ports of countries under French domination, that 'the young person' was not to be allowed to land, and she was consequently not permitted to set foot ashore in Portugal. When the French ambassador asked what he could do for Miss Patterson, she replied, 'Tell your master that Madame Bonaparte is ambitious, and demands her rights as a member of the Imperial family'—an answer which, when it was conveyed to Napoleon, rather tickled his fancy, owing to its audacity and the strength of character it implied. After many vain remonstrances Jerome determined to set out alone, in order to try and persuade Napoleon to reconsider his decision. Napoleon had driven Lucien from France, in spite of the great services he had rendered him, for marrying Madame Jouberthon, but the same objections which applied to that lady did not exist in the case of Elizabeth Patterson. Jerome met his old friends Junot and his wife, travelling in state on their road to Lisbon, and to them he confided his hopes and his griefs. He little thought then that through a long life he would only catch one more passing glimpse of his lovely Betsy, and this with another bride hanging on his arm. Jerome said that when he married, Napoleon was only First Consul; that he had then no more power than the other consuls; that he was not head of the family, as the Sena-

tus Consultum, which gave him unlimited authority over all the members of his house, did not then exist; while both Madame Mère and Joseph had consented to the union—after it had taken place. And he added—'Suppose I committed a fault in marrying Miss Patterson, must punishment fall on us now? And on whose head will it fall? On that of an innocent girl? No! my brother cannot desire to stigmatise thus one of the most respectable families of the United States.' Then showing the portrait of his wife, who was found by Madame Junot to bear a striking resemblance to Pauline, he exclaimed, 'Judge if it be possible to abandon so charming a person, who, in addition to a ravishing face, possesses all the qualities which inspire love.'

Napoleon was then at Milan, whither Jerome hurried, but on his reaching that city his brother refused to receive him. He was told to write, and in reply to a submissive letter he was favoured with an answer to this effect—'Your marriage is null, both in a religious and a legal point of view. I will never recognise it. Write to Miss Patterson to return to the United States, and I will allow her 60,000 francs a year, provided she does not assume the name of the family.' For some little time Jerome continued to correspond in the most affectionate manner with his wife. He would never desert her, he said. He would behave as a man of honour and a brave and loyal soldier. He was devoted to his country, but he could not forget that he was the father of Jerome Napoleon (for a son was born to him), and the husband of Eliza. He would cease to live were he not supported by the thought of rejoining his wife.

Having been refused permission to land at Lisbon, the wife of Jerome Bonaparte sailed for Holland, but at Amsterdam she was once more met by French agents, who refused to allow her to disembark, and she consequently sailed for England, and reached Dover on May 19. In her letters she relates how such a crowd had assembled to see her land, that Mr. Pitt felt it necessary to accord her a military escort. She afterwards repaired to London, and on July 7, 1805, was confined at Camberwell of the son already referred to as Jerome Napoleon.

Jerome, although he did not at once acquiesce in the views of Napoleon, was far from offering the same obstinate resistance as Lucien. For a short time he continued his correspondence with his 'dear wife,' assuring her of his unalterable affection; but he had to deal with a will more powerful than his own. Taken in due chronological order the affair of the divorce or invalidation of Jerome's marriage ran thus. On February 22, 1805, Madame Mère, after having at first approved of the union, was induced by Napoleon to protest against it. She declared, among other things, that her consent had never been asked by her son, who was a minor, and that had it been asked it would have been refused. On March 21 came an Imperial decree, declaring the *pretended marriage* null, and also all conventions relative to said marriage. Any children born of this marriage were to be considered illegitimate. According to French law, parties contracting an irregular marriage *de bonne foi* are held to be morally irresponsible, and the marriage, in spite of its nullity, retains its civil effects; the wife can keep the name of the man whom she thought she

took for husband; the stipulations of the contract must be executed, and the children are legitimate. But in the case of Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson, French law was knowingly violated after the solemn warning of M. Pichon, and hence Napoleon refused to allow 'the young person' to bear the name of Bonaparte, and regarded her son as illegitimate.

On April 13, 1805, Napoleon wrote to Fouché and the Minister of Marine, saying, 'Monsieur Jerome has arrived at Lisbon with Mdlle. Patterson, his mistress. She must not be allowed to land in France, but must be sent back to America. As for Monsieur Jerome, I have ordered that officer to come to me by Barcelona, Toulouse, Grenoble, Turin, and Milan, and that he is to be arrested if he deviates in the least from that route.' A similar letter was addressed to the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, who was asked what steps should be taken to entirely annul the marriage, and was directed to forward models of the documents which Jerome should sign.

On May 6 the Emperor wrote thus to Eliza:

My Sister,—Monsieur Jerome has arrived. I am satisfied with his sentiments. His secretary, who is at Milan, is going to see Mdlle. Patterson, to persuade her that her marriage is null in the eyes of the law and of religion, and should therefore be so in mine. Speak to M. Lecamus, and write in this strain to M. Jerome. Make him understand the necessity of keeping the promises he has made me.

Cambacérès, who had been consulted on this affair, did not see matters quite in the same light as Napoleon; so on May 13 the Emperor wrote, saying:

I have received your letters of May 8. I am not of

your opinion as regards Jerome. If he had been married in France before the proper civil authorities, a judgment would have been necessary in order to annul his marriage. Married abroad, his contract entered in no register, a minor, without publication of banns, there was no more of a marriage than between two lovers who unite themselves in a garden upon the altar of love and in presence of the moon and the stars.[1] [Several words are here illegible, and then]: The Pope believed it, but he has changed his mind. I have sent back the *demoiselle*, and I am content with the young man, who is clever, who knows he has been guilty of a folly, and who wishes to repair it as far as possible.

Ten days afterwards, Napoleon again wrote to the Minister of Marine, Admiral Decrès, saying:

Jerome has arrived. Madame Patterson, his wife, has gone back to America. He has acknowledged his error, and disowns this person for his wife; he promises to perform miracles. I have sent him to Genoa for the moment.

There had been no great difficulty in annulling the *pretended* marriage in the civil courts, but the invalidation of the religious marriage was another affair, not to be so lightly disposed of. The Pope, on his return from France, after the coronation of Napoleon, had pronounced a pontifical allocution in which he had related with visible emotion his first meeting with the Emperor. 'At Fontainebleau,' he said, 'we held in our arms that prince who is so powerful, and

[1] Napoleon, when he wrote this letter, was probably thinking of Citizen Godin, who, while representing the Republic at Constantinople, took a pretty Greek girl to a ball, where the ambassadors of all the other powers were present with their wives. This having created a scandal, and being coldly received, he retired with his mistress, and married her under the tree of Liberty, planted in the courtyard of the Embassy; he then returned to the ball, and presented his bride. Not long afterwards Citizen Godin obtained a divorce, and his repudiated spouse became a duchess.

who is so full of kindness for us.' But this enthusiasm soon died away. None of the promises which had induced Pius VII. to undertake his journey to Paris had been kept. The venerable Pontiff was disappointed in the territorial compensation on which he had relied, and he soon became convinced that Napoleon would give back to him neither Avignon, nor Carpentras, nor the Legations, and that he had been wantonly and egregiously deceived in spiritual matters. What seemed to cause Pius VII. even greater irritation than this breach of contract was the extension of the Code Napoleon to Italy, where the Catholic religion had always existed as the religion of the State, and where in future it was only to exist as the religion of the majority. The State would no longer be able to protect the most essential maxims of the Church in presence of this new code, which among other things sanctioned divorce. In fact the Gallican doctrines, more hateful to the Ultramontanes than the doctrines of Luther or Calvin, were to become canon law throughout Italy. Not only did Cardinal Consalvi address the warmest remonstrances to Cardinal Fesch on this subject, but Pius VII. wrote to Napoleon with his own hand letters abounding with sorrowful expostulations. The correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor was carried on for some time in an affectionate tone, and Pius VII. was more than once unable to restrain his delight in consequence of promises held out to him; but his illusion was not of long duration, and the friendly negotiations were soon destined to terminate in violence on one side and resentment and retaliation on the other.

On May 24, 1805, the Emperor wrote to the Pope from Milan, and alluding to a balloon which, sent up in Paris, had reached Rome, advised his Holiness to preserve it, so that future travellers might admire it. He then went on to say, in a careless manner :

I have several times spoken to your Holiness of a young brother of nineteen years old whom I sent out on board a frigate to America, and who, after a month's stay at Baltimore, married a Protestant, the daughter of a merchant of that city. This young man has just returned home. He is aware of his fault. I have sent back Mdlle. Patterson, his *soi-disant* wife, to America. The marriage is null. A Spanish priest was sufficiently oblivious of his duties as to give them his benediction. I desire a bull from your Holiness which shall efface all trace of this marriage. I forward to you several opinions on the subject, one of which is by Cardinal Caselli, whose handwriting you will recognise.[1] It would be easy for me to have the marriage broken by the Archbishop of Paris, the Gallican Church not recognising such unions ; but it appears to me more suitable that the immediate intervention of your Holiness should give a greater importance to this affair, if only because it concerns the member of a reigning house. I beg your Holiness not to give publicity to this first communication, because before you have agreed to it I shall make no public demand. It is important for many reasons, and in the interest of religion in France, that I should not have a Protestant woman about me, and it would be a dangerous example if a minor should be exposed to seductions which are at variance with the civil laws and all kinds of propriety.

NAPOLEON.

There were several errors in this letter. Jerome when it was written had not renounced his wife, who

[1] For his Holiness might have suspected a forgery !

had not been sent back to America; she had not been married by a Spanish priest, but by the Catholic Primate of the United States. None of the details of the case were ignored by Pius VII., as the Patterson family had enlisted the sympathy not only of America but of England, and his Holiness had been kept duly informed of all that had passed by the diplomatic agents of both countries. Accompanying his letter Napoleon sent the Pope a magnificent tiara, which he afterwards recovered when the unfortunate Pontiff was arrested in the Vatican, and sent a close prisoner to Savona. Pius VII. wanted something more than a symbol, and in fear and trembling he determined to resist.

Napoleon was deeply interested in the issue of this affair in consequence of being on bad terms with his other brothers. Lucien was in exile, and both Joseph and Louis had resisted the designs of the Emperor with regard to the succession, and the throne of Lombardy. He considered it therefore of the greatest importance that he should remain master of the destinies of his youngest brother. The demand for an invalidation deserved a separate communication, but this was not Napoleon's way of conducting a negotiation; coming after several other matters, it had all the appearance of an afterthought, an affair of no real consequence. The Pope, however, appears to have been immediately impressed with the gravity of the case, which terrified the whole Sacred College. M. Lanfrey opines that the Pontiff was not sorry at being afforded an opportunity for revenging himself. He had drained the cup of humiliation to the dregs, and now he had it in his power to thwart the designs

of the arch-deceiver. He had incurred the condemnation of the Catholic world in going to Paris to crown the usurper whose hands were still red with the blood of the Duc d'Enghien, and having gained nothing by this act of condescension, he was now upbraided for his credulity. In following the course he pursued, Pius VII. may have been solely actuated by conscientious motives, but it was suspicious that he should thus strain at a gnat after having swallowed so many camels. He thought that after having been deceived once, Napoleon would not venture to deceive him again; and Napoleon, having once deceived the Pope with impunity, considered that he might do so with impunity a second time. Both were mistaken, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the Pontiff was pleased to be able to show his resentment, to make use of his spiritual weapons, and to irritate where he could hardly inflict any mortal wound.

Pius VII., however, was somewhat embarrassed in consequence of the report transmitted to him against the validity of Jerome's marriage having been signed not only by Caselli and several French ecclesiastics, but by the Pope's own theologian, Cardinal Caprara, who with his usual complacency had placed his opinion at the disposal of Napoleon. The Pope, however, when a simple monk, had devoted considerable attention to the study of such delicate questions as that now raised, and he is said, before replying to the Emperor, to have hardly consulted even Consalvi, whose opinion he so willingly sought upon most occasions. Nor did he seek any advice from the Sacred College, since Napoleon himself had enjoined the strictest secrecy. The affair, in fact, exclusively con-

cerned the spiritual decision of the Sovereign Pontiff, and he considered himself sufficiently versed in canon law to decide upon it without assistance. He is said to have determined on examining the matter alone, so as to take the whole responsibility on his own shoulders in the event of being obliged to return an unfavourable verdict.

In June 1805 he replied to Napoleon in the following terms:

> We reserved exclusively for ourself the examination of the question submitted to our judgment. In the midst of an infinite number of affairs which overwhelm us, we have taken every care, we have given ourself great trouble. We have ourself made all the necessary researches in order to discover if our apostolical authority could furnish us with some means for satisfying the desire of your Majesty, and nothing would have given us greater pleasure than to enter into your views; but no matter what our application in the affair, and no matter in what light we have tried to consider the question, it has been impossible for us, among the motives set forth, or those we have been able to imagine ourself, to discover a single one which permits us, as your Majesty desires, to declare the nullity of the said marriage.

His Holiness went on to observe that the report contradicted itself upon all the most essential points. The plea of seduction, for instance, was inconsistent with the plea that the marriage had been performed without the consent of the bridegroom's mother. This showed mutual consent on the part of the principals, and in such cases the Church had always refused to accord an invalidation on the ground of seduction. As for the difference of religion which had been adduced, the Pope pointed out that this only furnished a case of nullity in marriages contracted between

Christians and infidels. The Church disapproved of unions between Catholics and Protestants, but she had never refused to recognise their validity. The Pope then refuted in detail all the arguments brought forward by Cardinal Caprara, Father Caselli, and the French casuists, adding, with quaint irony, that he had at one moment hoped to be able, with a clear conscience, to conform to the desires expressed by his Majesty. 'A canonical cause of nullity might, in fact,' he wrote, 'have been deduced from the clandestine manner in which the marriage had been performed—that is to say, from the absence of the curate naturally called upon to give his benediction to the union. This cause of "hindrance" had been specially laid down in the Council of Trent; but unfortunately it could only be invoked in those countries where the decree of the said Council (chapter and section 24, *de reformatione matrimonii*) had been published, and in respect to those persons for whom it had been published.' Pius VII. added that he had caused the most minute search to be made in the most secret archives of the Inquisition and the Propagation of the Faith, in order to discover if the decree of the Council of Trent had been published in Baltimore. The decree had never been published there. This information had been furnished by a synod held by the present Bishop of Baltimore. Therefore, concluded his Holiness, 'it is out of our power, in the actual state of the case, to pronounce a verdict of nullity. If we were to usurp a power which we do not possess, we should render ourselves guilty of an abominable abuse before the tribunal of God, and your Majesty would yourself blame us for having pronounced a sentence contrary

to the testimony of our conscience and the invariable principles of the Church. This is why we entertain the hope your Majesty will be persuaded that the desire which always animates us to second your views as far as possible, more particularly in an affair which so nearly concerns your august person, has this time been rendered inefficacious merely by the absolute absence of power, and we implore you to accept this sincere declaration as a proof of our veritable and paternal affection.'

In the seventeenth century a case happened similar to that of Jerome Bonaparte—a case which Pius VII. no doubt consulted.

Gaston d'Orleans, the brother of Louis XIII., was forced by Richelieu to marry Mdlle. de Montpensier, and after she died an attempt was made to unite him to the daughter of the Duke of Mantua. Gaston, however, who, like Midshipman Jerome, was a man of rebellious and frivolous character, secretly married Marguerite of Lorraine, who was duly acknowledged by her mother-in-law, Marie de Medicis. Louis XIII. caused the marriage to be annulled not only by the French Parliament but by the French clergy; the Court of Rome on the other hand decided that the marriage was valid, in spite of its having been contracted without the consent of the French monarch.

It was hardly to be supposed that Napoleon would regard this publication or non-publication of a decree of the Council of Trent at Baltimore as a serious argument in favour of the validity of Jerome's marriage. His irritation was extreme, but it did not break out immediately. He had other matters of paramount importance on hand. It was necessary for the exist-

ence of his Empire that he should strike a blow at once in order to crush a formidable coalition in its infancy. He only replied to Pius VII. after he had triumphed at Austerlitz, had thoroughly subdued his enemies, and had secured the abject submission of the wavering princes of the Confederation of the Rhine.

According to Comte d'Haussonville, the affair of Prince Jerome might have been kept secret, and Napoleon might have avoided all annoyance by simply annulling the marriage by means of an Imperial decree, and by marrying his younger brother, 'not, as his recent and impetuous display of religious proselytism appeared to announce, to a Catholic princess, but, on the contrary, to the heiress of the Lutheran Elector of Wurtemberg. Very different were the consequences of those aggressive measures which his inconsiderate policy and his passion caused him to adopt towards Pius VII. In seizing on the town of Ancona, in confiscating successively what remained of the Pontifical States, in laying hands on the person of the Pope and detaining him captive at Savona, the Emperor at first imagined he was carrying out an easy undertaking, for never among the princes of the earth had he had to deal with so weak an antagonist. . . . By a singular coincidence, which shows the strange working of human affairs, the chief of the Roman Church alienated the chief of the great French democracy for having intrepidly defended against his princely pretensions the honour of the Protestant daughter of a modest citizen of the United States ; he was destined to have the last shreds of his temporal power torn from him because, not being at war with England, he refused to close his ports to her vessels.'

The Emperor had formerly had the generosity to restore Ancona to the Pope without conditions; his recompense was, as he remarked, a display of ill-will in the affair of Jerome's marriage. The pretexts put forward by Pius VII. he scouted as frivolous. In the great struggle which was pending the Pontifical Government had promised to remain neutral; but, much to her dissatisfaction, Austria learned that French troops had been admitted to march through the States of the Church, troops which shortly afterwards, to the surprise and indignation of the Pontiff, seized on his temporalities by occupying Ancona. Pius VII., the Sacred College, and Consalvi loudly protested against this fraudulent invasion, which Cardinal Fesch, who represented his nephew at the Court of Rome, declared was merely a temporary act, rendered necessary as a military precaution. On November 13, 1805, the Pope with his own hand addressed the most pressing remonstrances to Napoleon. Faith had not been kept with him; his neutrality had been violated; he had been rendered an object of suspicion to the representatives of all the Catholic powers, who no longer believed in his pacific assurances; Napoleon was about to render the peaceful exercise of his apostolical mission impossible. There was more sorrow than anger in this letter, but at the same time there was a determination expressed on the part of the Pope to break off friendly relations with his terrible friend unless he restored Ancona.

No notice was taken for the time of the Pontiff's letter. The Emperor was too much occupied with that splendid campaign which commenced with the capitulation of Ulm and terminated with the battle

of Austerlitz. For a moment, under the walls of Vienna, the fate of the campaign appeared to be compromised, but everything had been re-established by the genius of the Emperor. On returning to France he stopped for a time at Munich. The Elector of Bavaria, in reward for his fidelity to France, had been raised to the dignity of king, and Napoleon arranged a marriage between his daughter, the Princess Augusta, and Eugène Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy. This princess was about to marry the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden; the Hereditary Grand Duke received as compensation the hand of Mdlle. Stephanie de Beauharnais, who was recognised as a princess of the Imperial House of France, and negotiations were commenced for the marriage of Prince Jerome with the daughter of the King of Wurtemberg.

It was only on January 7, 1806, that Napoleon replied to the Pope in these terms:

Most Holy Father,—I receive a letter from your Holiness dated November 13, 1805. I was greatly affected that when all the other powers in the pay of England were coalesced against me in an unjust war, your Holiness should have lent an ear to evil counsels and have been led to write me so menacing a letter. You are perfectly at liberty to keep or to send away my ambassador. The occupation of Ancona is the immediate and necessary consequence of the defective military organisation of the Holy See. It was in the interest of your Holiness to see that fortress in my hands rather than in those of the English or the Turks. Your Holiness complains that since you left Paris you have experienced nothing but pain. The reason is that since then all those who dreaded my power, or who professed friendship, have changed their minds, considering them-

selves authorised so to do by the strength of the coalition, and that since the return of your Holiness to Rome all my demands have been refused, even those of a purely religious nature, as when, for example, it was a question of hindering Protestantism from raising its head in France. [Allusion to Jerome's marriage with a Protestant.] I considered myself the protector of the Holy See, and it was on this account that I seized on Ancona. I considered myself, like my predecessors of the second and third race, as the eldest son of the Church; as alone having a sword to protect and shelter her from the contamination of Greek and Mussulman. I shall continue to protect the Holy See in spite of the reprehensible acts, ingratitude, and evil dispositions of men who during the last three months have been unmasked. They thought me ruined [under the walls of Vienna], but God clearly showed by the success with which He favoured my army, that He has espoused my cause. I shall be the friend of your Holiness so long as you only consult your own heart and the true friends of religion. I repeat that if your Holiness desires to send away my minister you are at liberty to do so; you are at liberty to receive in preference the English and the Caliph of Constantinople; but not wishing to expose Cardinal Fesch to these proceedings, I shall replace him by a lay ambassador. . . . Of all the reigning princes, God is judge who has done most for religion.

And when Napoleon wrote thus to Pius VII. he was bent on marrying Jerome to a Protestant princess, and Stephanie de Beauharnais to a Protestant prince. On the same day that he addressed the above letter to the Pope, he forwarded a despatch to Cardinal Fesch, which was to be communicated to the Roman Court. In this he explained the nature of the protection he intended to impose henceforth on the Holy See:

Since those dotards (he wrote) do not find it amiss that a Protestant should occupy the throne of France, I shall send them a Protestant ambassador. . . . I am religious, but I am not a hypocrite. Constantine separated the civil from the military service, and I can nominate a senator to command in Rome in my name. . . . As far as regards the Pope I am Charlemagne. I have united the crown of France to that of Lombardy. . . . Unless they behave well, I shall reduce the Pope to be Bishop of Rome.

Pius VII. expostulated. He knew that with the exception of the affair of Jerome's marriage, the Emperor had no real cause for complaint. On this point he protested that if he had thwarted the intentions of the Emperor it was with extreme regret, and solely because he had not been able to find in divine laws anything which would permit him to follow the natural leaning of his heart. He denied having welcomed the enemies of the Emperor, or that he had menaced him at a moment when his success appeared doubtful. And with an amazing amount of simplicity, he expressed the hope that as Napoleon attributed his victories to God, the Church of God would be allowed to participate in them. The Emperor replied to this letter with singular vivacity. He called on the Pope to expel immediately all the Russians, Swedes, and Englishmen in the Pontifical States. He had no intention, he said, that the Court of Rome should meddle any more with politics. Cardinal Fesch was informed that Prince Joseph had orders to give him military assistance if necessary. The Papal Government was to be told that he had his eyes open; that he was not to be deceived; that he was Charlemagne, their Emperor; that if the Pope did not acquiesce he would reduce him to the

same condition he occupied before Charlemagne; and some time afterwards the squabbling became more petulant than ever. 'You have not restored the legations, you have indulged in all kinds of usurpations, you have occupied Ancona and Civita Vecchia, you have seized on the Pontifical revenues, you have confiscated the duchies of Beneventum and Ponte Corvo,' groaned the Pope. 'You refused to annul Prince Jerome's first marriage; you refused to enter into the French alliance and to confirm the nomination of my bishops,' retorted Napoleon, who then directed Talleyrand to demand that the number of French cardinals should in future be in proportion to that of the Italian cardinals. 'Tell them,' said the Emperor, 'that it is high time to finish with these quarrels; that I am irritated and indignant at these threats of excommunication; that it only remains for the Pope to shut me up in a monastery, and to have me whipped like Louis le Debonnaire.' Napoleon also wrote a letter to Eugène de Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, which was to be communicated to the Pope, in which he said:

My Son,—I saw by the letter of his Holiness, which he certainly did not write himself, that he menaces me with excommunication. Does he think that the rights of the throne are not as sacred in the eyes of God as those of the tiara? There were kings before there were popes. They say they intend making public the ill I have done to religion. The madmen! Do they forget that there is not a corner of the world where I have not done more for the good of religion than the Pope has done harm? The Pope who indulged in such an act of insanity would cease to be Pope in my eyes. I should consider him only as Antichrist, should separate my people from all communication

with Rome, and should establish my police there. The Court of Rome has been preaching rebellion for the last two years. What does Pius VII. wish to do by denouncing me to Christendom? Lay my thrones under interdict, excommunicate me? Does he think that the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers? Does he contemplate placing a poignard in the hands of my people to assassinate me? This infamous doctrine was preached by furious popes. Does he take me for a Louis le Debonnaire? The present Pope is too powerful; priests are not made to govern. Let them imitate St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other apostles. Of a truth I begin to blush at all the annoyance the Papal Court makes me endure, and perhaps the time is not far distant when, if it continues to trouble my states, I shall only recognise the Pope as Bishop of Rome. I shall unite the Gallican, Italian, German, and Polish Churches in a council to perform my business without a Pope, and I shall thus protect my people from the pretensions of the Roman priests.

The Holy See was perfectly terrified on the reception of this missive. The Pope hastened to appoint Cardinal Litta to negotiate at Paris, but Napoleon haughtily declined to treat with any other ambassador than the Cardinal de Bayanne. His Holiness yielded, for the Emperor had threatened in case of hesitation to unite the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, and Camerino to the kingdom of Italy. A short time previously, his Majesty, by the way, had referred to these provinces, in a letter to Prince Eugène, as absolutely necessary to enable him to keep up his communications in Italy. Before Cardinal de Bayanne left Rome to repair to Fontainebleau, General Lemarrois took possession of the provinces in question in the name of the Emperor, and this act, which exposed the bad faith of Napoleon, excused to a great

degree the duplicity of the feeble old man in whose mind dread and admiration of the Emperor were so strangely mingled.

As we have seen, the marriage of Jerome was declared null by an Imperial decree of March 1805. This disposed of the civil ceremony. Jerome almost immediately received the command of a ship, and the Empress herself threw the Order of the Legion of Honour round his neck; but it was not until September 24, 1806, that he was declared a French prince and re-established in the line of succession. A month after this the officiality of Paris, on the demand of Madame Mère and the Emperor, under the direction of Cardinal de Belloy, declared against the marriage of Jerome, 'celebrated in opposition to the essential forms prescribed by the holy canons, and statutes and decisions of the Gallican Church.' It is interesting to remark that this decision was arrived at 'after having heard M. Rudemarre, the *promoteur* of the diocese,' who afterwards played so important a part in the divorce of Napoleon, refusing to consider as valid the grounds upon which his Majesty's demand was made. The Pope therefore was alone in his opinion that Jerome's marriage was valid. It may of course be argued that he took a Roman view of the matter, while Caprara, Caselli, and the French ecclesiastics took a Gallican view of it. It is to be remarked that in all his dealings with the Court of Rome Napoleon insisted upon the existence and validity of the four propositions of Bossuet which formed the basis of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

It is not therefore to be wondered that Madame Patterson Bonaparte should have afterwards attempted

to prove the invalidity of Jerome's second marriage. This she did on the death of King Jerome in 1860, hoping to establish at the same time her own claims, the legitimacy of her son, and their right to share in the property left by the deceased. An interesting correspondence afterwards took place on this subject between Prince Napoleon and Comte d'Haussonville. The former, in a long letter printed in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' insisted that, contrary to the opinion expressed by the Count in his 'History of the Roman Church and the First Empire,' the first marriage of his father was duly invalidated by the Pope. 'The Sovereign Pontiff,' he wrote, 'finally recognised the nullity of the marriage contracted in America, for it was the Pope Pius VII. who caused the marriage of my father with the Princess of Wurtemberg, my mother, to be blessed and celebrated by his religious representative.' Then followed the narrative of the American marriage, after which the Prince added: 'As soon as this act was known in France steps were taken to have it annulled. Had Jerome been a private individual there would have been no difficulty in the matter, and the marriage would have been annulled by the tribunal of the Seine on the demand of Madame Mère. But from May 1804, Jerome became subject to exceptional laws, for the Senatus Consultum of Floréal, of the year XII., placed the whole Imperial family under the jurisdiction of the chief of the state. It was not therefore for the ordinary tribunals, but for Napoleon, to decide on the validity of Jerome's marriage. In annulling the marriage the Emperor did not perform a sovereign, but a judicial act. The decrees which he signed were

drawn up by that consummate lawyer Cambacérès. Jerome had no need of the consent of his brother to get married; the nullity was pronounced because he had neglected to obtain the consent of his mother.' The Prince cannot imagine how any exception can be taken to the Imperial decrees. He went on to say: 'Under the first Empire, the Restoration, the Government of July, the second Republic, and up to 1856—that is to say, during fifty years—the decision of the decrees was duly accepted by everyone as a judicial, legal, and irrevocable fact. Madame Patterson solicited and obtained a pension from the Emperor Napoleon I., thus acquiescing in the Imperial sentence; the marriage of King Jerome with the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg gave rise to international acts between France and Wurtemberg, against which no protest was entered by Madame Patterson or her family. Under the Restoration and the Monarchy of July, the son of Madame Patterson was received by his father, by the Queen Catherine, by Madame Mère, and all the Bonaparte family, in the most affectionate manner, which shows that in Europe, as in America, the memories of the birth of this child concealed no kind of pretensions. It was only after half a century of silence that the affair reappeared on the judicial scene.'

As regards the conduct of Pius VII. in the affair of the religious marriage, Prince Napoleon looks upon it in the same light as did the Emperor his uncle. He considers the Pope was actuated by a spirit of revenge; adding that his Holiness afterwards reconsidered his decision. 'Whatever may have been the motives of his first resistance,' wrote the Prince, 'the

Pope did not persist; if he did not himself issue a bull annulling the marriage, he permitted the diocesan officiality of Paris to pronounce that annulment on October 6, 1806. On August 23, 1807, the religious marriage between King Jerome and the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg was celebrated with great pomp in the chapel of the Tuileries. The Prince Primate, assisted by several bishops, officiated, and gave the nuptial benediction. The Prince Primate was neither a French prelate nor a subject of Napoleon. He was a sovereign prince.[1] It will hardly be supposed that he celebrated the marriage of Jerome without the consent of the Pope, and in opposition, on so grave a subject, to the authority of the Church and of the Holy See. Is not this celebration the recognition of the radical nullity of the first marriage in a religious point of view?'

Prince Napoleon went on to state that under the Restoration Pius VII. accorded the most generous hospitality, not only to Prince Jerome, but to his wife, although a Protestant, showing them both peculiar marks of esteem and affection, and he could not believe that while acting thus he was still under the impressions which had inspired his letter of June 1805 on the canonical validity of the marriage of Baltimore.

In reply to the assertions of Prince Napoleon, the Comte d'Haussonville wrote to this effect:

This is the first time I have heard of the Pope acknowledging that there was small foundation for his first scruples,

[1] The Prince of Dalberg, Prince Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Grand Duke of Frankfort, who having long opposed the projects of Napoleon in vain, afterwards served him with fidelity.

and that he had accorded his religious benediction to the second marriage of King Jerome. I am aware that on the occasion of the marriage of King Jerome his Holiness addressed his compliments to the Empress of the French, expressing his good wishes for the future happiness of the newly-married couple; but I know also that he made reservations, and at the same time expressed the hope that theologians more fortunate than himself had found motives for invalidating the first union which he had been unable to discover.

Here is what Pius VII. wrote to Napoleon on the subject:

We thank your Majesty most affectionately for the most gracious letter, filled with lively expressions of filial piety and attachment for us, in which you announce the marriage of his Royal Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon, our very dear son and your well-beloved brother, with the Princess Royal, Catherine of Wurtemberg. We wish them, with all our heart, not only the greatest but the purest consolations. While we praise the Lord for all the blessings it has pleased Him to pour down upon your Majesty and your august family, we hope that after the examination which we made of the motives brought forward relative to the other marriage contracted by the above-mentioned Imperial prince, new and valid reasons presented themselves which, not having been laid before us, are entirely unknown to us, which led to that celebration in which your Majesty participated, &c.

Comte d'Haussonville qualifies this letter, written to the despoiler of the temporalities, as an act of pure courtesy which can in no way be regarded as equivalent to a reversion of his previous judgment. And he adds: 'If Prince Napoleon thought he could prove the definite consent of the Sovereign Pontiff by recalling to mind that the marriage of his father was

celebrated with great pomp at the Tuileries by the Prince Primate, assisted by several bishops, I should recommend him to read the correspondence of Cardinal Caprara, the papal legate at Paris. There he will see that this member of the Sacred College was very openly reprimanded by Pius VII. for having, just at that epoch, dared to take upon himself to officiate at the marriage of her Imperial Highness the Princess de Beauharnais, who was a Catholic, with the Grand Duke of Baden, who was a Protestant. This letter is very long and couched in severe terms. The chief reason for dissatisfaction was that the presence of the legate might lead ill-informed persons to think that such unions were approved of by the Pope. The approbation therefore of the Sovereign Pontiff in no way results from the fact of any ecclesiastic, even the legate, having been present at and having consecrated a marriage not recognised by the Holy Father.' Comte d'Haussonville then points out how Cardinal Consalvi says in his memoirs that Pius VII. refused to recognise the King of Westphalia (Jerome), as he would have been very much embarrassed with regard to his new wife, 'for as long as the first marriage contracted in America was not annulled, his Holiness could not accord to that princess the title of queen. The Count cannot see that the fact of the Pope having treated the King and Queen of Westphalia with courtesy and hospitality in Rome has anything to do with the question What is required, he says, is some official document rescinding the Pope's first decision, and no such document is forthcoming.

We have a very vivid sketch of Prince Jerome's American wife, known as Madame Patterson Bona-

parte, from the letters she wrote to her father, and which were published after her death. She was no doubt a woman of considerable personal attractions, clever, and decidedly ambitious, as she herself boasted. But it would be difficult to say which predominated, her love of wealth or her love of rank. There was not an atom of sentiment in her composition. She was all calculation, and what she appears most to have loved and admired in Jerome Bonaparte was not the young naval officer, but the brother of the First Consul of France. After her union with Jerome had been annulled, her father wanted her to marry again, and to take a rich merchant for her husband. She replied to this advice: 'I confess that it would perhaps have been a blessing if I could have vegetated as the wife of some respectable man in business; but you know that nature never intended me for obscurity, and that with my disposition and character, I am better as I am. . . . All my conduct is calculated. Let people think you are proud of me, which in fact you have good reason to be, as I am very prudent and virtuous.' Madame Bonaparte, after the separation, returned more than once to America, but she could not settle there. She was not made enough of in her own country, and she looked down with contempt on the Baltimore traders. In Europe she was treated with distinction, and won the admiration of the Duke of Wellington, Madame de Staël, M. de Talleyrand, and other notabilities; while in 1815 Louis XVIII. was much struck by her grace and beauty, and wished her to present herself at court. This, however, she declined to do, as she was in receipt of a pension from Napoleon.

Jerome had only been married to his second wife

for a year when he sent his faithful secretary Lecamus to America to try and get possession of his son 'Bo,' as his mother used to call him. But the Pattersons would not hear of a separation. Jerome, then King of Westphalia, next offered his first wife the duchy of Smalkalden and 200,000 francs a year, 'Bo' to go and see him once a month. Madame Bonaparte declined, for Westphalia she said was not large enough for two queens. If she consented to accept an allowance of 60,000 francs a year from Napoleon and refused 200,000 francs from Jerome, it was, as she expressed it, because she preferred being sheltered under the wing of an eagle to being suspended to the bill of a goose. According to Madame Bonaparte she refused the pension offered to her by Napoleon in the first instance, and only accepted it on the condition of being allowed to sign the receipts Elizabeth Bonaparte, a condition which was granted. She always spoke with the greatest contempt of Jerome, and though both herself and 'Bo' were received into the bosom of the Bonaparte family after the fall of the Empire, she never spared the lash. The only Bonaparte she really admired was Madame Mère, whose superior qualities she soon discovered. There was a good deal of similarity between these women; they were both strong-minded and took a very practical view of matters. Pauline Borghese she considered frivolous and capricious to a shameful degree, and foolishly extravagant. And yet Pauline when she died left 'Bo' 20,000 francs, to the great delight of his mother, who considered that this legacy, small as it was, gave him a standing in the family. In one of her letters she said that 'the members of this singular family are always cheating each other.'

She herself was doomed to be once more greatly disappointed by them in her matrimonial schemes. She and 'Bo' had lived with the other Bonapartes at Rome on terms of the greatest intimacy and affection, and at length a match was arranged between 'Bo' and Joseph Bonaparte's second daughter Charlotte. This projected union was highly approved of by Madame Mère, who wrote to Joseph on the subject. It was also approved of by Louis, by Pauline, who promised to leave 'Bo' 300,000 francs in her will if the marriage came off, and also by Jerome and his second wife. The Princess Catherine in fact wrote rather a remarkable letter to Joseph on this matter. She said:

My dear Brother,—In addressing you these lines I ask you to give me a new proof of friendship on a subject of the greatest possible importance. The proposed union between Charlotte and Jerome is so essential to the young man that I trust you will contribute to it as far as you can. This event would render me personally very happy, as it would place Jerome in a natural position *vis-à-vis* to myself and my children. Counting upon your affection, &c. &c.

It was probably suspected that if 'Bo' did not strengthen his alliance with the family by means of matrimony, he might some day attempt to prove his legitimacy.

As for Joseph's daughters, who were with their father in America, Madame Bonaparte alluded to them as 'the best matches in Europe in point of connections and money. They will have 500,000 dollars apiece from their father, and something from their mother. They are the nieces of the Queen of Sweden'—the nieces of Désirée Clary, the daughter of the Marseilles soap-boiler, and of Bernadotte, who was the son of a lawyer at Pau.

'Madame Bonaparte, who ridiculed the idea of love in matrimonial affairs, was greatly interested in 'Bo's' wedding, and Joseph's consent having been obtained, there seemingly remained nothing in the way of the marriage. However, all of a sudden the match was broken off, and Charlotte bestowed her hand on Napoleon Louis, the eldest surviving son of Louis Bonaparte, and brother of Louis Napoleon, afterwards Napoleon III. It is not very clear why the match with 'Bo' was thus abruptly broken off; and why Louis, after having given his approbation, should have consented to an union with his own son. As for Madame Bonaparte, she perhaps found she had over-estimated its advantages. Before the rupture she wrote to her father, saying, '"Bo" feels the propriety of doing what I please on the subject of marriage, and has no foolish ideas of disposing of himself in the way young people do in America,' and as Prince Jerome did. Having repaired to the United States, Madame Bonaparte wrote a very characteristic letter, in which she insisted upon settlements being well examined, adding that 'parchment deeds, looked well into by a skilful lawyer, are the best and only guarantees of happiness. . . . Madame Mère has refused to acknowledge the marriage of Lucien's daughter with an Irishman (Mr. Wyse), on account of the inferiority of his birth. She would never forgive my son's marrying any but a woman of high rank.' Then, after the marriage had fallen through, and when perhaps an inspection of settlements had not proved satisfactory—'"Bo's" cousin Charlotte we found married to her other cousin, who by all accounts was forced by her perseverance into the match. The

young man, they say, showed no small reluctance to marry this hideous little dwarf. I find that her marriage portion of 700,000 dollars has not been paid, and probably never will be. They are living with his father, and she is said to be a regular vixen.' Madame Bonaparte went on to remark that Joseph's fortune had been greatly overrated, that he was always writing to his wife to sell property and remit money, and that he was not generous, though, being a bad manager, he squandered immense sums. The marriage portion of Joseph's eldest daughter (who married her cousin Charles Bonaparte, Lucien's eldest son) was, she declared, paid into the hands of Lucien, who gave the young couple as security the mortgage on a property already mortgaged, cheating them out of every farthing. Lucien would not pay even the interest. All this was quite in keeping with the customs of the family. This is what Madame Bonaparte wrote *ab irato*. Having failed to secure the hand of Joseph's, she tried to get that of Eliza's daughter for 'Bo'; but this attempt met with no success, and, to her great chagrin, in 1829 her son married a Baltimore lady. Madame Mère, Joseph, and Jerome all approved of the match, and Jerome strongly advised 'Bo' to become an American citizen. He had private reasons for this. Madame Bonaparte, on the contrary, was furious; she nearly went out of her mind; she herself 'would have preferred Botany Bay to any man in Baltimore, and the deplorable condition of being the wife of an American citizen.' It was contrary to her principles to disinherit 'Bo' for thus dashing her schemes to the ground, but she determined henceforward to spend more money on her own pleasure

and she stopped his allowance, as Prince Jerome had had his allowance stopped by Napoleon.

In 1831 we find Jerome writing to 'his dear son at Baltimore,' to congratulate him on the birth of a son, and concluding—'P.S. Jerome, Mathilde, and Napoleon [King Jerome's three legitimate children], embrace you.' This correspondence with 'Bo' lasted for some years. The Princess Mathilde, when she was going to marry Prince Demidoff, wrote him a most affectionate letter, and twelve months afterwards wrote again to inform 'Bo' that her new state realised her fondest expectations. Five years later, Prince Demidoff and his wife were separated.

On the advent of the second Empire, 'Bo' congratulated his cousin on his accession, and having received a gracious reply, visited Paris. He was at once invited to dine at St. Cloud; was reinstated as a French citizen, and acknowledged as legitimate by Napoleon III. On December 18, 1852, an organic decree had thus regulated the succession. 'In the event of not leaving any direct, legitimate, or adoptive heir, our well-beloved uncle Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, and his direct, natural, and legitimate descendants born of his marriage with Catherine of Wurtemberg, from male to male, in order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females, are called to succeed us.' But there arose serious misunderstandings between the new Emperor and the Jerome branch, Prince Napoleon making himself conspicuously troublesome by his Jacobin airs, disapproving of the *coup d'état*, and setting himself up as the representative of the Republican Empire. He became the imitator in fact of *Prince Egalité* Joseph,

of Brutus Lucien, and the liberal Louis. It is also said that Prince Napoleon and his father threw doubts on the legitimacy of Napoleon III. Victor Hugo, in his 'History of a Crime,' says that, making some remark to King Jerome on the extraction of Louis Napoleon and his Corsican origin, his Majesty ejaculated, 'if there be any Corsican blood in him!' The result was that Napoleon III. wrote the following letter to 'Bo':—

My dear Cousin,—I have received your two letters, and another from my uncle Jerome, who declares he will never consent to allow you to remain in France. I replied that the French laws recognised you as a legitimate son, that I could not do otherwise than acknowledge you as a relation, and that if your situation in Paris was embarrassing that was your affair; that Napoleon, if he behaved himself well, will have nothing to dread from family rivalry. Without irritating your father, you must continue to follow the course you propose. I shall write to-morrow to Fould to make the necessary arrangements.

At this moment Napoleon III. seriously thought of cutting Prince Napoleon off from the succession, and establishing the validity of Jerome's first marriage. However, he changed his mind, and on the earnest remonstrances of his uncle agreed to summon a family council to take matters into due consideration. The consequence was, that after Napoleon III. on his own authority had legitimatised 'Bo,' the family council in 1856 decided that M. Patterson should no longer call himself Bonaparte, and all subsequent attempts to establish the validity of Jerome's first marriage completely failed. Napoleon III. afterwards appears to have offered 'Bo' the title of Duke

of Sartène, but this dignity was refused, as the object was to induce 'Bo' to renounce the name of his family and his rights as an elder son.

When Jerome died in 1860, he left 'Bo' nothing—did not even mention him in his will; and this led Madame Bonaparte to appeal to the French courts, but, as we have seen, she appealed in vain. It is strange that she should have thought it worth while to prosecute a claim, after allowing it to lie dormant for half a century, after having accepted a pension from Napoleon by way of compensation, and after herself obtaining a divorce in 1813 by a special act of the Maryland legislature.

The lovely Elizabeth was doomed to suffer many sad disappointments. When her father died he only left her a few houses, because, as he said in his will, her conduct all through life had been disobedient; she had never consulted his feelings nor opinions, she had given him more trouble than all his other children together, and her folly and misconduct had put him to great expense. It is true that the 'few houses' afterwards turned out very valuable property.

In one of the last letters she wrote to her father she said: 'I hear that William Foreman is dead. I hope that Providence will allow me to die before my son. I pity poor aunt Foreman; it is enough to kill her. I hope she inherits the farm from him.' Providence did not accord this satisfaction. 'Bo' died in 1870, while his mother only died in 1878, at the ripe old age of ninety-four, and having amassed, by means of strict economy and careful speculation, the sum of 1,500,000 dollars. If the failure of her matrimonial

schemes left her a desolate old woman, she had the consolation of seeing her investments thrive. Nothing paints much better the character of this extraordinary woman than the letter in which she announced the marriage of her widowed sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Patterson, with the Marquis of Wellesley; a union which led to this curious result, that two Baltimore ladies, connected by marriage themselves, became connected, the one with Napoleon, the other with Wellington. Madame Bonaparte wrote:

> She has made the greatest match on record. People will see that Mrs. Caton was right to starve herself in order to be able to keep her daughters in Europe. The Marquis of Wellesley is Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He is sixty-five. He married an Italian singer, by whom he had a family. She is dead. He has no fortune; but on the contrary, is over head and ears in debt. His salary is 30,000*l.* a year. He will be there (in Ireland) eighteen months longer, and if the king does not give him another place he will be entitled to 1,000*l.* a year as a poor nobleman. He is the brother of the Duke of Wellington. . . . There is not a woman in Europe who would not prefer a man of rank without money to the richest man in the world without a title.

Allusion was also made to two other daughters of Mrs. Caton, one of whom, after marrying first of all Colonel Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey, gave her hand to the seventh Duke of Leeds. The third daughter became the second wife of the second Lord Stafford. No mention was made of the fourth daughter, whose marriage was doubtless not to the taste of either Madame Bonaparte or Mrs. Caton; she threw herself away on a gentleman called McTavish, who was British consul at Baltimore. The daughter of this lady, who was

remarkably beautiful, entered, however, into the Howard family; but she misconducted herself and was divorced. Madame Bonaparte's letters show, however, that she worshipped both rank and wealth; her wealth she left equally divided between her two grandchildren, Jerome and Charles Bonaparte, though neither of them made what their aged relative could have considered as brilliant matches. Jerome married at Boston, in 1871, a widow of the name of Appleton, by whom he has two children, Louise-Eugenie and Jerome; and Charles Bonaparte also married a Boston lady, instead of coming over to Europe in quest of rank and fortune.

It may be said of Madame Bonaparte that she was not more hardly treated than Madame Brown, who was married in 1806 to the Duc de Berri, when he was a refugee in England. Madame Brown lived with the Duke as his wife for ten years, and bore him a son and two daughters. However, on the Restoration, Louis XVIII. disapproved of his nephew's marriage and annulled it—a strange step for a monarch to take who on his return to France immediately abolished the law of divorce on account of its being an abomination in the eyes of the Church. Now it is to be observed that if the marriage of Jerome was held good at Rome and indissoluble, the marriage of the Duc de Berri was equally binding. They were both concluded under very similar circumstances. Both princes were married in foreign lands, where the Council of Trent had never been published, and consequently the canon laws in force previous to that council applied to them. In countries where the Council of Trent has not been promulgated—and it

has never been promulgated in England and Scotland, and was only promulgated in Ireland in 1825—a marriage is considered valid without the intervention of the parish priest, and in fact the consent of the man and the woman constitutes a marriage when it is followed by cohabitation. In order to recognise the validity of such marriages, all that the Court of Rome demands is that the man and woman shall reside for four or five weeks, in order to acquire the privilege of living in a Protestant country. Such being the case, it follows that the Duc de Berri, even supposing no priest performed the ceremony, was duly and lawfully married according to canon law, for he lived *affectu maritali* with Madame Brown for ten years, and became the father of three children; and when in 1819 he fell stabbed to death by the knife of Louvel on the steps of the Opera, he sent for his daughters, embraced them, presented them to his second wife, and begged her to take care of them. His marriage, too, was not clandestine, and neither his uncle Louis XVIII. nor his father the Comte d'Artois protested against it at the time. According to canon law the Duc de Berri had no more right to marry the daughter of the King of Naples than the King of Westphalia had the right to marry the daughter of his corpulent Majesty of Wurtemberg. It appears, however, that the venerable Pius VII., who had sought so diligently, and yet in vain, in the hope of finding some plea upon which the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte might be annulled, consented to annul the marriage of the Duc de Berri, merely insisting that his two daughters, who were born after wedlock should be regarded as legitimate. The Pope con-

sidered himself powerless in the matter of Jerome, and declined to commit 'a terrible crime before the tribunal of the Almighty'; and he ought consequently never to have committed so gross a violation of canon law in favour of the Duc de Berri. But, as the saying goes—*Avec le ciel il y a toujours des accommodements.* Louis XVIII., though a sceptical monarch, had never plundered the temporalities, nor otherwise vexed the Church. It may be added that the pure Legitimists never looked upon the Duc de Berri's first marriage as irregular, or considered his daughters, Charlotte Marie Augustine and Louise Marie Charlotte, born in London, as illegitimate. Before their marriage the first was created Comtesse Issoudun, and the second Comtesse de Vierzon. The eldest married the Prince de Faucigny-Lucinge in 1823, and the younger the General de Charette, the nephew of the celebrated Vendean chief.

Madame Brown in some respects was far from resembling Betsy Patterson. She sacrificed herself patiently and quietly to what was considered a political necessity, and her very existence had been forgotten, except by a few friends and relatives, many years before she died. She lived to see great changes sweep over France. She survived her marriage three-quarters of a century, and her husband more than half a century. The certificate of her death shows that 'Amy Brown, aged ninety-three years, born at Maidstone, in the county of Kent, England, proprietor of the Château de la Contrie, daughter of the defunct Joseph Brown and Mary Anne Deacon, widow of Charles Ferdinand [the Christian names of the Duc de Berri], died on May 7, 1876.' Madame Brown

therefore died two years before Madame Patterson Bonaparte, and when she departed this life was one year younger than the widow of Jerome.

Napoleon is said to have been at some trouble to find a second wife for Jerome, sufficiently lovely, virtuous, and noble to efface the memory of Miss Patterson. At last he hit upon the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg, who was possessed of the requisite qualities. The princess at first declined the honour, being strongly averse to a French alliance. This is not to be wondered at, seeing the exaggerated notions which then obtained in Germany concerning French profligacy, and that she was affianced to the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden, who was both a German and a Protestant. However, after the battle of Austerlitz, there was no possibility of eluding the wishes of Napoleon, and the objections of the Princess went down before serious political interests. The King of Wurtemberg owed his royal diadem to Napoleon ; he only existed, thanks to the French Empire, and it was consequently impossible for him to decline an alliance which he abhorred in his heart, and which wounded his pride. In her journal the Princess says :

It was in 1806 that my father spoke to me of the propositions which had been made by France for my marriage with Prince Jerome. Not knowing him, and being occupied with other projects, I refused. My father returned to the charge, and insisted in order to obtain my consent, observing that the matter involved the happiness of all the family, and the prosperity and perhaps the existence of my country. I yielded at the end of the year, and offered myself as a sacrifice to such dear interests. I could not then foresee that I should find in this union the purest and most con-

stant happiness. My dowry was 100,000 florins. However, in spite of all the importance which my father attached to the alliance he contracted with the Emperor, who disposed of his fate, he made me run into debt for the customary presents, gave me a *trousseau* which I could not wear, and allowed me to leave home with 100 louis in my pocket. It was the Emperor who gave me my wedding dress, and my husband marked the first instants of our union by acquitting the debts I had contracted, by giving me a new *trousseau*, and by generously and delicately throwing a veil over the falseness of my position.

In August 1807, Napoleon wrote a most affectionate letter to 'his dear sister,' which Madame de Luçay was charged to hand to the Princess Catherine, and on the 16th of the same month, upon opening Parliament, he announced this matrimonial alliance, and that a 'French Prince was about to reign on the Elbe.' The marriage of the two young sovereigns took place first, according to custom, by procuration, at Stuttgard, with the usual ceremonies, the brother of the Princess acting for Jerome. Catherine was then twenty-four and Jerome twenty-three years old. The presents which Napoleon sent the bride are said to have been extremely handsome.

Before leaving for Fontainebleau (writes M. Thiers), Napoleon celebrated the marriage of the Princess Catherine with his brother Jerome. This young Princess, endowed with the sweetest and noblest qualities, handsome and imposing in person, proud as her father, but gentle, devoted, and dutiful, destined one day, in misfortune, to be the model of wives, reached the château of Raincy on August 20. She was rather alarmed on the subject of what awaited her at a court whose power and splendour no one denied, but which was represented as the abode of brute force, and whither she was accompanied by none of the

servants who had surrounded her from her infancy. Napoleon received her the next day on the first step of the grand staircase, and she was about to make her obeisance when he folded her in his arms and then presented her to the Empress and the court. On the 22nd the young couple were civilly united by Cambacérès, and on the 28th they were married at the Tuileries by the Prince Primate.

Napoleon on this occasion not only gave his brother the kingdom of Westphalia, but a constitution with it, settling even the civil list and the line of succession. Westphalia, like other conquered countries, was to furnish men and money for the support of the French Empire, and the unfortunate monarch soon found himself involved in difficulties similar to those which made the royal existence of Joseph and Louis a burthen to them. Jerome took matters less dramatically; he often complained, but he neither wept, nor threatened, nor deserted his post. He had had one quarrel with his brother, but he never had a second. He knew that he was of earth, and Napoleon of iron. After a short stay at Stuttgard the King and Queen of Westphalia went to Wilhemshohe, the château which half a century after was accorded to his nephew as a state prison after the fatal battle of Sedan. This château was christened Napoleonshohe by Jerome, who found it 'very dilapidated and destitute of furniture, like all the palaces in Westphalia'; a state of things which necessarily entailed considerable expenditure, for Jerome was given to luxury. He had only been in his new kingdom a few months when he found himself in financial difficulties.

Sire (he wrote to his brother), there is a deficit. I cannot, on arriving, make myself unpopular by imposing new

taxes on a country already exhausted. The army which I am forced to keep up devours twelve-twentieths of the revenue.

The conditions imposed by Napoleon were exceedingly hard on the Westphalians, but their monarch submitted to them. Jerome has often been blamed for his prodigality and heartlessness, but it is evident from his correspondence with his family and with his wife that he was capable of being both kind and generous.

At the time of the celebrated interview between Napoleon and Lucien at Mantua, when the Emperor wished his brother to give the hand of his daughter Charlotte to the Prince of Asturias, Jerome wrote:

My dear little Lucien,—I have received your letter with great pleasure, for I was anxious to know what had taken place between you and the Emperor. My own opinion is that our brother will render you justice, and that after the marriage with Lolotte he will restore you all his friendship. The family desire this, and I would give half my life and half my kingdom for it to be so. I know how to love you better than the others, because you looked after me when I was a child.

He then tells Lucien that he has sent him 200,000 francs by Boyer, and adds, 'I cannot tell you what pleasure I have in being able to share something with you. Be sure, when I have anything, that you may dispose of it.' It is true that this money was wrung out of an impoverished country, but then Jerome might have spent it in furnishing his palaces.

About a year after his second marriage Jerome and his wife paid a visit to the Emperor at Fontainebleau, and joined in the amusements of the court. The

young Princess of Baden, who had formerly excited the admiration of Napoleon, and who was still on cool terms with her husband, rendered Queen Catherine exceedingly jealous. Her Majesty was too stout to dance, and Jerome both danced and flirted with the Princess Stephanie to such an extent that one evening, unable any longer to restrain her feelings, she burst into tears and then fainted. The ball was stopped; the Emperor took his brother severely to task, and Stephanie was sharply reproved and advised to be more circumspect. This and other cases of levity on the part of the King of Westphalia seem in no way to have weakened the attachment of his wife, an attachment which was singularly elevated and pure, and which, thoroughly unselfish, formed a strong contrast with the ambitious love of Elizabeth Patterson. To judge by his correspondence, his Majesty afterwards learned to appreciate the affection of his second wife.

He saw a good deal of campaigning while he was king, for he had left the naval service; and the letters which passed between himself and the queen while he was with the army in the field were exceedingly tender. When misfortunes fell thick on Napoleon, and he was driven to defend France against the allies, we find King Jerome writing to his wife, who was with Joseph and the family party at Mortfontaine:

I have just reached Cologne [November 1813] and with a good dose of courage and hope. Fortune, they say, is like a woman; she abandons us an instant, but we can bring her back again by dint of good treatment, and she then becomes more faithful than ever. . . . Your portrait, about which you reproach me, is in my portfolio; therefore make *amende honorable*, and quickly demand pardon. No matter what

happens, I shall shortly be in a position to scold you otherwise than by letter, and this will not be the least happy moment of my life. The conduct of your father is such as I expected it would be.

When Jerome wrote in this pleasant and endearing strain, he had been retreating before the enemy for seven days, but had lost none of his baggage, as he rather triumphantly told his wife.

The King and Queen of Westphalia were in Paris when Marie Louise quitted the capital, and they accompanied her to Blois. On April 9 the queen wrote to her father announcing the formal abdication of the Emperor. 'Our eyes,' she continued, 'are naturally turned towards you, and we hope that for a time at least you will accord an asylum to the king and myself.' Not having much confidence in the King of Wurtemberg, Jerome and Catherine also appealed to the Prince Royal, and to the Emperor Alexander. The queen's brother replied in the harshest terms, refusing an asylum, and her father ordered her to leave her husband. This she positively refused to do. She called on her father to look back upon what had passed :

Married to the king without knowing him (she wrote), influenced at that epoch by great political interests, I attached myself to him. I bear to-day his child in my bosom. During seven years he has rendered me happy by the most amiable and kindest conduct ; but even had he been the worst of husbands and had made me unhappy, I would not abandon him in his misfortune. I shall never separate my interests from his. My resolution is firm upon this point ; it is inspired both by affection and honour.

But several dutiful and affectionate letters failed to shake the determination of her family, and it was only

from her relation the Czar that she met with any kindness in her tribulation. He offered an asylum and passports. The former was declined, the latter accepted, and the queen set out on her notable journey to Switzerland, whither Jerome had retired, not finding it safe to remain in France. The queen with her suite and her baggage occupied several carriages ; the roads were blocked with troops, and it was hard to travel owing to the difficulty in getting relays. She met the Emperor on his way to Elba, and he pressed her to his heart. According to the queen, 'that mute embrace was eloquent, and revealed the feelings of a hero who had been betrayed.' On reaching Montereau, two men in the name of Louis XVIII. summoned her Majesty to alight, and it was all in vain that she exhibited her passports. In one of these men she recognised the Marquis de Maubreuil, who, after serving in the French army with distinction, had been an equerry to the King of Westphalia. On upbraiding him, the Marquis declared he was merely obeying orders. The queen's trunks were all ransacked, and 'though she swore she had no crown property, she was plundered not only of her jewels but her money. She sat on a chair in the courtyard while this robbery was being perpetrated. She had entered France with 100 louis, and the Marquis de Maubreuil offered her 100 napoleons as she was leaving the country. The queen refused to believe that Louis XVIII. had ordered her to be treated in this manner. The crown jewels, with 'the Regent,' had all been recovered from Marie Louise at Orleans, and there was no excuse for this shameful act. Her Majesty at once wrote to complain to the Emperor of Russia, who expressed the greatest indig-

nation at the little honour shown to his passport. After a sharp diplomatic correspondence and diligent search by the police, the jewel cases were recovered; but their contents, estimated at 1,500,000 francs, had vanished. Maubreuil and his accomplices were arrested, but they were released before Napoleon returned from Elba. This mysterious affair has never been satisfactorily cleared up. The Marquis declared that he had been commissioned by Talleyrand to assassinate the Emperor, and it is certain that extraordinary powers were given to him by the French War Minister, General Dupont (of Baylen memory), by the Minister of Police, and by the Russian and Prussian delegates, in the way of placing troops at his disposal. It appears difficult to imagine that these extensive powers were accorded to the Marquis to allow him to stop the Queen of Westphalia on her road to Switzerland, and to search her baggage for crown jewels. The supposition is that the Marquis accepted a promise of a pension of 200,000 francs a year to make away with Napoleon, shortly before he signed his abdication; for Talleyrand and others had reason to dread his return. While on the road to Fontainebleau the Marquis heard of the abdication, and falling in with the cortège of the Queen of Westphalia, did a stroke of business on his own account. Some of her Majesty's diamonds were afterwards restored, and the story was they had been fished up from the bottom of the Seine. The report was that if Maubreuil was not tried, it was because it was feared he was in a position to make disagreeable revelations. A few days after the return of Napoleon from Elba the Marquis was once more arrested, but he managed to make his

escape, and took refuge in Belgium. However, he had hardly reached that country when he was seized on an order of Louis XVIII., who was then at Ghent, and flung into prison. In his despair the Marquis attempted to commit suicide. The King of the Netherlands, having learned this violation of his territory by the French King, had de Maubreuil released. After many adventures the Marquis was once more brought to trial in 1817; the proceedings were kept secret, and suddenly his prison doors were thrown open, and he repaired to England. His name was brought prominently before the world twice more before he died; in 1827, when he struck Talleyrand as he was leaving the church of St. Denis—for this assault he was committed to prison for five years; and again towards the close of the Second Empire. The existence of the Marquis had long been forgotten, when in 1868 an attempt was made on the life of the Marquise d'Orvault. It turned out that this lady, whose maiden name was Schumacher, and who had shone in the *demi-monde* as Madame de Bruyère, had bestowed her hand and her ill-gotten fortune on the Marquis d'Orvault Maubreuil in return for his title. The Marquise having refused her brother some money, he attempted to assassinate her. Then came out a series of curious facts. This man, who admitted that, instigated by Talleyrand, he had undertaken to assassinate Napoleon and his brothers Joseph and Jerome (Louis and Lucien were not in France), who had plundered the Queen of Westphalia on the high road, who during the occupation of Paris by the allies had dragged the badge of the Legion of Honour, which he had won in Spain, through the mud

tied to the tail of his horse ; who had aided the Prussians to pull down the statue of Napoleon from the top of the Vendôme column, and who had married a woman of loose character for her money, was not only in receipt of a pension from the Government of Napoleon III., but wore in his button-hole the order he had treated with such contumely. A year after this last scandal, the Marquis, deserted by the wife of his bosom, died at Asnières in a state of destitution, and with him died the secret of what became of the greater portion of the property of Jerome and his wife.

When the news spread through the startled Continent that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba, Jerome and his wife were at Trieste, and the former, after a thousand difficulties, managed to return to France, and to reach Paris in time to share with the Emperor the glories and dangers of his last campaign. In a letter which extends over no less than fourteen printed pages, Jerome, after the battle of Waterloo, gave his wife an account of all that had happened since they parted. He had been warmly welcomed by Napoleon, by Joseph, and by Lucien, whom he found installed in the Palais Royal. He had received the command of a splendid division, and had had desperate fighting with the English. He had slain 6,000 of the enemy, had himself lost 2,000 men and a general, and his division had been reduced to two battalions ! Two of Jerome's battalions, therefore, and 2,000 men, had slaughtered 6,000 Englishmen and had defeated the remainder of the force opposed to them. At 6 P.M., says Jerome, when the Prussian guns were heard on the right, it became

necessary to drive the English from their positions, so as to be able to fall on the Prussians :

The Emperor, hoping that Grouchy would arrive, said 'The battle is won ; we must occupy the positions of the enemy ; forward !' and all with the exception of six battalions of the Old Guard marched with us. Ney was reinforced by four regiments of the Guard, and reached the English guns. We supported him. Everything was going well, when General Friand was wounded, and, I know not by what fatality, the attack of the Guard failed ! The Guard was repulsed ; it was necessary to retreat, but it was too late. The Emperor wished to die ; we were in the midst of the enemy's fire. Wellington, who had his light cavalry quite fresh, let it loose on the plain at about 8 P.M. ; at 9 a panic seized on the army ; at 10 there was a rout ; our guns had no more ammunition. The Emperor was swept away ; no orders were given ; we ran till we crossed the Sambre. I reached Avesnes the next day, having been constantly with the rearguard. At this place I found neither the Empero nor any of his marshals ; they had gone on. I mad desperate efforts to rally the *débris* of the army, and managed to get together 18,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 12 guns, with which force I reached Laon on June 21. Marshal Soult was there ; he thought I was alone, and could not believe I had so large a force ; and when one of my orderly officers arrived in Paris, to give an account of this happy news, Marshal Ney, who had been there for several days, declared in the Chamber of Peers that it was impossible. . . . On the day of the battle the Emperor was sublime up till eight o'clock. . . . I press you to my heart, as well as my son. When shall we be united ?

A letter which throws a curious light on the *sauve qui peut* of June 18.

On June 26 Jerome received the following letter from Fouché, that Jacobin regicide, who, after serving the Empire, now retained office under the king :

Prince,—The committee of the government think it suitable for the tranquillity of the state, and your own, that your Highness should leave Paris. I am directed to send you this invitation.

(Signed) DUC D'OTRANTE.

Shortly afterwards he received another invitation, and was obliged to leave France. His wife was a prisoner in the hands of her father, and neither threats nor promises would induce her to renounce her husband. She protested against the degradation of princes who had been recognised by treaties. She declared that marriage imposed duties which were not to be subordinated to mere vicissitudes of fortune; that a change of policy on the part of the princes of Europe and the overthrow of the Empire might necessitate her removal from the throne, but could not affect the obligations she owed to her husband. For some time Queen Catherine was deprived in the most cruel way of all news of Jerome; she was sure he had been wounded at Waterloo, and thought he was dead. At last, after many supplications, Jerome was informed that he might take up his residence at the château of Gäppingen, on pledging his word of honour not to leave Wurtemberg without the consent of his father-in-law. On August 22 Jerome reached the castle in question, and, after an absence of five months, pressed his wife and his child once more to his heart.

At Gäppingen Jerome and Catherine found themselves state prisoners, and they were soon afterwards transferred to the château of Ellwangen, 'a fortress with high walls, and situated in a wild and inaccessible country.' Jerome having refused to hand over all his property to his father-in-law, the prisoners were kept in

close custody, and were only allowed to see one friend. After having been subjected to all kinds of persecutions and treated with the utmost harshness, Jerome and his wife were at length permitted to leave Wurtemberg and to take up their residence in Austria as the Count and Countess of Montfort.

While residing at Trieste this unfortunate couple were subjected to continual annoyance. Nor were their pecuniary and other troubles brought to a close when the King of Wurtemberg—generally looked upon as the worst sovereign in Europe—departed this life. What the new king was may be judged by the following extract from the Queen Catherine's diary: 'My brother wrote to me announcing our common misfortune, saying that my father had left me a last souvenir, which he would hasten to send me, and which I was to regard as a pledge of his parting benediction. I have since been led to believe that this last phrase in my brother's letter was only dictated by the first effusion of his heart, because since that time I have never received anything.' In fact, poor Catherine's brother was quite as mean and unjust as her father had been. In Austria the ex-King and Queen of Westphalia lived a most secluded life, and only enjoyed the society of two persons, Eliza Bacciochi, who had managed to turn her reign in Tuscany to good account, and Fouché, who had been driven from France by the Royalists, had become a naturalised Austrian, and had been decorated with the order of St. Leopold. That Jerome should have received Fouché after his invitation of 1815 was due to the fact that Fouché had in reality protected him from the brutality of the Bourbons, and had

directed his agents to facilitate his escape from France. Fouché had also procured passports for the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who had refused to use them. Both Eliza Bacciochi and Fouché died nearly at the same moment, and then followed the news of the death of Napoleon, which overwhelmed the whole family with grief. In 1818 both Jerome and Catherine had implored Lord Liverpool to allow them to go out to St. Helena, but this double request had been refused. On learning the fatal intelligence of the great soldier's death, Queen Catherine wrote the following letter to Madame Mère:

My dearest Mother,—How can I find expressions to depict to what extent I have been overwhelmed by the terrible news I have just heard? It is only the heart of a mother—that of such a mother as you—which can comprehend my grief; if you have lost a son, I mourn for a second father, and what is more, for a benefactor; and nothing can console me for such a loss. But I implore you, my dearly loved mother, to bear up for the sake of your other children who need your care and protection. I can say no more to-day; my tears efface the lines that I trace, and my trembling hand can only beg you to accept the assurance, &c. &c.

And similar letters were addressed by this tender-hearted woman to the Princess Pauline, to King Louis, and to the Emperor Alexander, her kinsman.

For a long time Jerome and his wife had wished to go to Rome, but permission had been denied them. The Emperor of Austria consented at one time, but he had to consult his allies, and the reply was unfavourable. However, at the Congress of Verona, thanks to the Czar, the authorisation was granted,

and the ex-King and Queen of Westphalia shifted their quarters to the Eternal City, and took up their abode in a palace which Madame Mère had prepared for their reception. After some years' residence in Rome, civil troubles, in which the sons of Lucien and of Louis were deeply implicated, arose, and all the Bonapartes, with the exception of Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch, who were extremely old and harmless, had to leave the Papal States. Jerome and Catherine repaired to Tuscany, where they lived in comparative tranquillity. While at Leghorn the ex-queen met her brother the King of Wurtemberg, whom she had not seen for twelve years. A reconciliation ensued, and the king took charge of his sister's eldest son and placed him in a military school. In 1835 Catherine fell ill, and on the advice of her physicians was removed to the shores of Lake Leman. The change of climate, however, could not restore her shattered constitution. One evening her husband told her she should always give her children her blessing before they retired for the night. She said she understood what he meant, adding, 'I see death approaching, and do not fear it. What I most loved in this world was you, Jerome.' She kissed his hand, and saying, 'I am ready; I should have liked to say adieu to France,' expired. A noble-minded and tender-hearted woman this, whose sorrows excited almost universal pity. Her life was made the sport of political changes whose fluctuations she refused to follow. Napoleon was deeply impressed with the nobility of her character, and said when at St. Helena, that she had inscribed her name in the pages of history with her own hands. Unfortunately, history

has more to say of bad queens than one so good, so kind, and so virtuous as Catherine of Wurtemberg. She left behind her three children:—Jerome Napoleon Charles, who died young; the Princess Mathilde, who in 1840 married Prince Demidoff, from whom she was separated in 1845; Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul, commonly known as Prince Napoleon, who married the Princess Clothilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, in 1859—a match which was to unite France and Italy for ever, and form a solid link in the chain that was to bind all the Latin races together under French protection. A man of the true Bonaparte type and indomitable character, half Jacobin, half autocrat. A French wit said of Prince Napoleon that he was a good copy of the first Emperor dipped in German grease.

It was long before Jerome and his family could return to France. Even after the fall of the Bourbons and the establishment of the constitutional monarchy, the frontier remained closed to them, although they had counted on the good offices and promises of the author of the 'Consulate and the Empire.' But M. Thiers contented himself with gilding the Napoleonic legend, and allowing Prince Napoleon to pass through Paris. On July 13, 1845, he wrote the following letter to Jerome:

Prince,—I have asked Prince Napoleon, your son, to be good enough to forward this reply to your letter from Florence of last month. I was much honoured and very happy to see your son, the object of your just predilections. Everyone was struck with his features and his resemblance to the most popular figure of modern times; and what is

better, with his talent, his tact, and his perfect bearing. I permitted myself to give him some advice, of which he did not stand in need; but, as he wished to know my opinion, I told him what I thought. This was relative to a visit to the king. I think he would have done wrong in not paying such a visit, and thanking his Majesty for according him the facility of visiting France, &c.

When M. Thiers penned this letter, how little did he foresee that more than a quarter of a century afterwards he would be President of the French Republic, and would send his gendarmes to escort Prince Napoleon to the frontier.

But such matters do not immediately concern us. Of all the grandchildren of Charles and Lætitia Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon alone made a royal marriage and wedded a king's daughter. It cannot be said that this marriage has been a very happy one, too great a gulf lying between the religious opinions of the Prince and his wife, who have seen little of each other since the fall of the Second Empire. However, there has been no divorce nor separation, and no appeal to the civil tribunals, or to the Pontiff, or to the officiality of Paris, to give relief. Simply a friendly agreement only to meet now and then. Of this marriage were born—Napoleon Victor Jerome Frederick, on July 18, 1862, a prince who is the hope of those Imperialists who cannot accept the liberal and anti-clerical views of his father; Napoleon Louis Joseph Jerome, born July 10, 1864; and Marie Lætitia Eugenie Catherine Adelaide, born December 20, 1866.

Jerome Bonaparte, ex-King of Westphalia, died,

and was buried at the Invalides, in 186(. mantle of his great brother has already descended on the third son of Louis. It remains to be seen whether it will now descend on the third child of Jerome and Catherine, or on the shoulders of one of their grandchildren.

XI.

ELIZA BACCIOCHI.

MARIE ANNE ELIZA, the eldest of Napoleon's sisters, and the one who most resembled him physically and in the harder traits of his moral character, was born at Ajaccio in 1777, and, thanks to the influence of the Comte de Marbeuf, obtained a nomination to St. Cyr. On April 18, 1782, the Council of Corsica announced this welcome news, and demanded the necessary papers—that is to say, a certificate on the part of the bishop of the diocese attesting the poverty of the family, and documents showing one hundred and forty years of nobility on the part of the father.

On December 15 of the same year, Charles Bonaparte received the definitive brevet, couched in these terms:

To-day, November 24, 1782, the king being at Versailles, well informed that the demoiselle Marie Anne de Buonaparte has the birth, age, and requisite qualities for being admitted among the number of young ladies who ought to be received in the Royal House of St. Louis, established at St. Cyr, as it appears by titles, certificates, and other proofs, in conformity with letters patent of June 1686 and March 1694, his Majesty has accorded her one of the two hundred and fifty places of the said house, enjoining the superior to receive her without delay, to give her all suitable instruction, and to allow her to enjoy the same

advantages as the other girls, in virtue of the present brevet which his Majesty has, for the assurance of his will, signed with his hand, and had countersigned by me, Minister and Secretary of State.

LOUIS.

LE BARON DE BRETEUIL.

There were great material advantages resulting from this favour, which were most acceptable to the Bonapartes, whose family was rapidly increasing, and whose means of existence were diminishing. The pupils could enter the school of St. Cyr at seven years of age and remain there till they were twenty; they were educated, fed, and clothed, and on leaving they were given a dowry of 3,000 francs, a *trousseau*, and 150 francs for the journey home. There was one fault to be found with St. Cyr. The training was not at all in keeping with the prospects of the pupils; they were educated far above the station they would probably be called to fill; the school was too near to Versailles, and the notions of the ladies who managed it were far too fine and courtly. In the case of Marie Anne Bonaparte this training was no doubt useful; however, the young lady was not destined to reap all the benefits of the royal favour, for the Revolution arrived, and the Convention which decapitated the king soon closed the charitable institutions intended for distressed aristocrats. On August 7, three days before the storming of the Tuileries, a decree against the royal schools was voted. Fortunately for Marie Anne, her brother was in Paris, and he went to St. Cyr in quest of her when that establishment was evacuated. On September 1, Napoleon and Marie Anne appeared before the municipality of St. Cyr,

and made the following declarations. Marie Anne wrote:—

J'ay l'honneur de faire observer à M. M. les Administrateurs que n'ayant jamais *connus dautres pères* que mon frère, *sy* les affaires *l'obligoiet* à partir sans qu'il ne *mamenat avec luy*, je me trouverois dans une impossibilité *absolu devacuer* la maison de Saint Cyr. Avec respect.

MARIEANNE BUONAPARTE.

And 'Buonaparte' himself wrote a letter equally lame in orthography, asking the administrators to accord his sister 20 *sols* per league to enable her to reach Ajaccio. In this letter he spoke of 'l'article *additionnelle suprimant*' the house of St. Louis, and requested that the *thrésorier du distric soit autoriser* to *esconter*, &c. &c.; and at this moment Napoleon was a captain in the regular army and a lieutenant-colonel of Corsican volunteers. Fortunately for him, competitive examinations were not the order of the day.

The administrators granted the request. Both Bonaparte and Marie Anne had dropped the *de*, which was rather dangerous in 1792, but it was replaced by the municipality of St. Cyr, which authorised the *sieur de Buonaparte* to withdraw his sister, together with the customary goods and linen, and handed him 352 francs for travelling expenses. Napoleon took the young lady to Paris, put up at the Hotel of the Dutch Patriots, and having obtained permission to accompany Marie Anne to Ajaccio, left the capital at once. At this epoch Marie Anne is said to have been the image of Napoleon; the same decision, the same eagle glance, the same arrogant and sus-

ceptible character. She was too much of a Corsican to submit to the narrow discipline of the methodical founder of the house, Madame de Maintenon ; she was always a poor pupil, and could never pretend to wear the distinctive badge of the red ribbon. We are also assured that, like her brother, she disliked studying French, a fact which accounts for the faults in orthography above noticed. Thus was St. Cyr closed—St. Cyr, destined to become a military school.

On September 14 Napoleon and his sister arrived at Marseilles, and the next day they embarked for Corsica, reaching home on the 17th, where the arrival of the Mademoiselle de St. Louis seems to have created a certain amount of sensation. Eight months afterwards the family were driven from their native island, and took refuge in France.

At the commencement of 1797, and when her brother had become famous, Marie Anne Bonaparte married a simple captain of foot, named Bacciochi, a fellow-countryman, with whom she had probably been acquainted from her infancy. We have nowhere found any account of this wedding, and merely know that it was celebrated at Marseilles while Napoleon was negotiating the treaty of Leoben with the delegates of the Emperor of Austria. Bacciochi, though poor, belonged to a noble Corsican family, and he appears to have obtained the consent of Madame Mère to the match. Napoleon was not well pleased with the marriage, partly because the Bacciochis were Royalists, and because an Adorno Bacciochi had served with the *émigrés* and the English at Toulon. Of the husband of Marie Anne

Bonaparte there is little to be said ; he was fonder of fiddling than of fighting, and he was totally eclipsed by his wife, who was far superior in every respect to the man of her choice. It is said that before giving her hand to Bacciochi she was proposed for by Admiral Truguet, who was Minister of Marine under the Directory, and who distinguished himself not only at sea but in letters and diplomacy. Napoleon employed him on several occasions, but found him deficient in flexibility ; he opposed the expedition to St. Domingo and the idea of invading England, and, what was more serious still, the elevation of Napoleon to the purple. It is difficult to comprehend how the feeble Bacciochi should have been preferred to a man of courage and talent. A year after the wedding, we find Eliza, as she now called herself, established in Paris, patronising art and literature, and surrounded by men of the stamp of Chateaubriand, Laharpe, and Fontanes, while her husband, after having risen to the rank of general, was afterwards made a senator.

When the kingdom of Italy was united to the Empire in 1805, the Emperor bestowed the state of Piombino on the Princess Eliza. In announcing this news to the Senate, he said that that state had for several years been badly administered, that it was worthy of the attention of France in consequence of the facilities it offered for communicating with the islands of Elba and Corsica, and that this gift was not the effect of any particular tenderness, but a measure in conformity with sound policy, the splendour of the crown, and the interest of the public. To prove that the Princess Eliza was only to be a feudatory, the Imperial decree set forth that the chil-

dren who should succeed Madame Bacciochi would have to receive their investiture from the Emperor of the French, and that they could not marry without his consent. As for the husband of the Princess, who was to be allowed to assume the title of Prince of Piombino, he was required to take the following oath: 'I swear fidelity to the Emperor; I promise to succour with all my power the garrison of the Island of Elba; and I declare that I shall not cease to fulfil, under all circumstances, the duties of a good and faithful subject towards his Majesty the Emperor of the French.' Lucca was afterwards added to Piombino, and the Princess governed these states with a skill and energy which excited the admiration of the Emperor. She thoroughly reformed the administration; she inaugurated extensive public works, encouraged agriculture, patronised letters, all to such an extent that she was nicknamed the Semiramis of Lucca. Nor did she neglect (and this was a very important matter) military affairs. Her husband was allowed to take little or no share in the government; he was the humble servant of his wife; he walked behind her at all public ceremonies, and lowered his sword in salute when she passed a review of the troops. In 1809, Eliza, having ruled so well, was made Grand Duchess of Tuscany, where she set to work with her usual energy; soon cleared the high roads of the brigands with which they had been infested, and otherwise bettered the condition of the country.

When the fall of the Empire came, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany assumed the title of Countess of Campignano, and lived separated from her husband.

She died in 1820, tended with great care by her brother Jerome, who watched by her bedside for fourteen days and nights. Napoleon, when he heard of her death, was greatly affected; he said he thought death had forgotten his family, but since Eliza had been taken, he would soon follow.

Eliza's daughter Napoleone married in 1825 Prince Camerata, one of the richest proprietors of the Marches of Ancona, but the union was not happy. In 1830 husband and wife were separated. Napoleone, who saw in the Duke of Reichstadt her natural sovereign, formed a romantic attachment for him, and in consequence of attempting to persuade him to run away when the French Bourbons were driven from the throne, she was arrested and kept in confinement for some time. She had a son, called Camerata Napoleon, who committed suicide in 1853 under very mysterious circumstances.

XII.

PAULINE BORGHESE.

PAULINE BONAPARTE, the second daughter of Charles and Lætitia Bonaparte, born in 1780, did not receive the same education as her sister Eliza, and had not the advantage of being brought up at one of the royal establishments. The family were in difficulties, France was in a state of distraction, king and court had disappeared, and M. de Marbeuf was dead, when Pauline should have been at school. The amount of instruction she received in her youth was of the most limited character, and her moral training must have been altogether neglected during those hard times which were passed at Marseilles when the Corsican refugees were living on charity, and, as some think, on immorality. Be this as it may, Pauline, the loveliest of Napoleon's sisters, and the least virtuous, grew up and in fact always remained a hoyden. With the hot blood of the south running through her veins, she had ripened to maturity long before she was out of her teens, and had attracted numerous admirers. It is related that at the time Napoleon was kicking his heels about Paris in a state of destitution, he and Junot strolled into the Jardin des Plantes, and that there his faithful aide-de-camp, after much hesitation, demanded Paulette's hand. Bonaparte put him off on the ground that he was not in a position

to support a wife, and in fact the two soldiers were in such straitened circumstances that they hardly knew where to get a dinner. Junot in despair appealed to his father, but that worthy individual could only promise to leave him 20,000 francs in his will, and as these expectations were not sufficiently brilliant to remove the objections to the match, the gallant suitor was obliged to renounce his pretensions to the hand of *la jolie Paulette*, as she was called by her friends. The Duchess d'Abrantes, alluding to this episode, tells us in her memoirs that her husband (Junot), 'fell madly in love with Paulette Bonaparte, his youthful and ardent imagination being unable to resist the attractions of so enchanting a creature. He was passionately attached to her.' And again: 'It is impossible to form any correct idea of the beauty of Paulette from her pictures.' It is perhaps seldom that a woman writes in this strain of the personal attractions of her husband's first love. This may be accounted for by the intimacy which reigned between the Permons and the Bonapartes, and the fact of Junot having soon recovered from his first passion, and having afterwards given his spouse little cause for jealousy. Other women have also spoken in raptures of Pauline's attractions. Madame Ducrest says: 'She was the loveliest woman I ever beheld; there was not the slightest imperfection in her delicious face, to which was joined an elegant figure and the most seductive grace. She was an incomparable beauty, but she had little or no instruction, no conversational powers, and her manners were exceedingly dissolute;' adding—'*Par pudeur pour notre sexe, il est des sujets sur lesquels nous ne devons pas*

appesantir.' And it seems only too probable that there was truth in the very terrible accusations laid to the charge of this lovely but profligate woman, who appears to have had no sense of shame, and in this to have greatly resembled her brother Napoleon. Fortunately she had some redeeming qualities. With all her frailties she was not a mischief-maker; she might put out her tongue at her sister-in-law behind her back, and cry because Josephine had finer jewels than she had, but she never tortured her like her brothers and sisters, and never allowed herself to be swayed by political motives to do a bad act. Properly trained, she might have made an excellent wife and a loving mother.

In the year 1795 we find Napoleon writing to brother Joseph that a certain Citizen Billon had proposed for Paulette, and that he had communicated with his mother on the subject. However, it was found that Citizen Billon was suffering from the same impecuniosity as Junot, and he had to retire from the lists. A new suitor then appeared in the person of Frèron, one of the delegates of the Convention employed in the south, and consequently a man having authority, and not to be lightly treated. Frèron, though by no means such a bloodthirsty individual as he himself made out, in order not to lose the confidence of his sanguinary employers, was on intimate terms with the Robespierres, had known Jean Paul Marat before the 'angel of assassination' rid the world of that most notable horse-leech, and was the son of that ex-Jesuit Elie Catherine Frèron, who was such a thorn in the side of Voltaire. An interesting correspondence ensued between Pauline and her Con-

ventionalist admirer—a correspondence which appears to have lasted about a year, and which has been published by the 'Revue Retrospective.' We find Pauline writing in the year IV.:

I have been very anxious about your health, my dear friend. . . . Yes! I swear, dear Stanislas, never to love anyone else; my heart is not divided, it is given entirely to you. Who could oppose the union of two hearts which only search for happiness and find it in loving each other? No, my friend, no one will refuse you my hand. . . . I thank you for sending me some of your hair; I also send you some of mine; not that of Laura, for Laura and Petrarch, of whom you speak so often, were not as happy as we are. Petrarch was constant, but Laura . . . No! my dear friend, Paulette will love you as much as Petrarch loved Laura. Adieu, Stanislas, my tender friend. I embrace you, as I love you.

P. B.

In Germinal of the same year (1796) Frèron wrote an epistle to Napoleon which commenced thus: 'You promised me a letter for your wife before starting for Italy, in which it was agreed that you should announce my marriage;' and he went on to implore Bonaparte to remove certain obstacles raised by his mother. This letter proves that Bonaparte himself can have had no objection to the match even after his own marriage. Then on the 1st Messidor of the same year, Lucien, who had evidently been asked to intercede with his brother, wrote in a very friendly way to his ex-Jacobin ally, saying that he had seen Napoleon at Milan, but he was too busy to talk to him on family affairs. This epistle terminated thus: Adieu, my dear Frèron! I embrace you for myself and for my wife, who loves you well. I left Leclerc

at Milan.' It was this Leclerc who afterwards married the lovely Paulette.

On the 14th of the same month, strange rumours having been circulated with regard to the position of Frèron and of a woman to whom he was already married, Pauline wrote very passionately, vowing eternal fidelity, and saying, 'I shall say nothing more about your mistress, for what you tell me reassures me. I know the uprightness of your heart and approve of the arrangements you have made.'

Then came other letters showing a change of mind on the part of Napoleon and Josephine, and Pauline was informed that in marrying Frèron she would bring dishonour on herself and the rest of the family. But she swore to remain firm to her Stanislas, and wrote to her brother, 'Your letter has caused me the deepest pain. I was far from expecting this change, for you consented to my union with Frèron. . . . You, my dear Napoleon, whom I have always loved, would be touched could you witness the tears your letter has caused me to shed.' And while the enamoured Pauline was thus pouring out her soul, we find Napoleon writing in the following peremptory manner to his elder brother (?) Joseph from Milan: 'Everything is going on well. I beg you will settle Paulette's affair. It is not my intention to allow her to marry Frèron. Tell him this. We are masters of Lombardy.' And it was hardly likely that the master of Lombardy, one day destined to don the iron crown, should consent to see his sister marry a man whose faction had fallen into disrepute, and whose principles had become abhorrent in the eyes of the nation and of the successful and ambitious soldier,

the quondam *protégé* of the Robespierres. Times had changed since Bonaparte was patronised by the delegates of the Convention, and received orders signed by Barras, Salicetti, and Frèron; and Frèron was to be dropped.

In 1797, when Napoleon was at the château of Montebello, already playing the sovereign, Marmont says in his memoirs that the general sent Joseph to him with the proposal that he should marry Pauline. But Marmont declined. He found her charming; her form was perfection; she was only sixteen years and a half old, and promised to be what she became (?). But in spite of his admiration and the advantages such an alliance offered, Marmont refused it. 'I had then,' he said, 'dreams of domestic felicity, fidelity, and virtue, seldom realised it is true, but which often inspire the youthful imagination. In the hope of one day attaining this chimera, I renounced a marriage which would have had an immense influence on my career, and I have probably more to congratulate myself upon than to be sorry for.' How ungallant these reflections!

The offer which Marmont refused was accepted by General Leclerc, a brilliant young officer of no great stamina, who may have been ignorant of Pauline's liaisons, although that with the actor Lafont, of the Théâtre Français, had made noise enough. A certain amount of mutual attachment followed this union, but Pauline, the most capricious of her sex, continually tormented her husband in reminding him of his good fortune in having married the sister of the First Consul. Napoleon not only wanted Pauline married, but evidently wished her out of the way

for a time; and it was for this reason that her husband received the command of that St. Domingo expedition which ended in such disastrous failure, partly owing to his incompetence. Bourrienne has given us a graphic picture of Napoleon sitting up all night dictating his instructions for this expedition, and then sending for Leclerc and saying to him: 'Here are your orders; you will have a fine opportunity for enriching yourself. Go, and fatigue me no longer with your eternal demands for money.' According to Bourrienne, Napoleon had little faith in the success of the expedition, but wished to get rid of a troublesome brother-in-law. What is certain is, that Pauline was desirous of remaining in Paris, but was obliged to accompany her husband. In a bulletin on the subject, Napoleon expressed the hope that Madame Leclerc would 'share the glory of the expedition, and show herself superior to the fatigues of navigation and the climate.' And thus *la jolie Paulette* was shipped off to the West Indies on board the 'Oceana,' to regild her rather tarnished fame. She accepted her fate with her usual good humour; she was surrounded by a court of flatterers, and two poets, who accompanied 'the new armada,' celebrated her grace and wit in flowing verse, representing her as reclining on the deck in all the splendour of her beauty, reminding them of Galatea and Venus Anadyomene issuing from the bosom of the waves and wringing her tresses over her shoulder.

By all accounts, she behaved at St. Domingo with courage and devotion under very trying circumstances. Asked at one time to seek safety in flight, she obstinately refused, declaring she was the sister of

Napoleon, and in all probability her energy averted for a time an impending catastrophe. The expedition failed; yellow fever played havoc with the troops, carrying off their commander-in-chief, and leaving Pauline a widow. With shattered health she returned to France, but 'though weak and suffering, and dressed in mourning,' she appeared to Madame de Rémusat the most lovely woman she had ever seen. And yet before she set out for St. Domingo her beauty had already begun to fade, for she had been attacked by a serious disease, which clung to her for the remainder of her life. 'On her return,' says Madame de Rémusat, 'Napoleon entreated her not to abuse her liberty, and not to relapse into those excesses which were, I believe, the cause of her departure for St. Domingo. But she was not long in forgetting her promises.' That for a time Pauline regretted her husband is probable, for she cut off all her hair, and had his body embalmed; in fact, came home with a mummy, as the Duchess d'Abrantes says.

It is rather remarkable that the yellow fever which proved fatal to General Leclerc should also have carried off Pauline's ancient admirer Stanislas Frèron, who had gone out to St. Domingo to act as prefect of the island, and also to M. Jouberthon, the husband of the divorced woman whom Lucien had married.

The death of General Leclerc, be it observed, marked an epoch in the history of the time in this wise. Napoleon took advantage of his decease to restore the old etiquette observed in court mourning. The Council of State was summoned, and paid a visit

of condolence to the First Consul. The Senate and the other bodies of the state followed this example, and went into mourning; and official notifications were addressed to the great powers and to their representatives in Paris. This proceeding created an immense sensation, as it clearly indicated that the days of Republican simplicity were numbered, and that the old régime in a great measure, *minus* the Bourbons, was about to be restored.

Having little confidence in Pauline, and anxious that she should conduct herself decently at all events during the time she would have to pass in mourning, Napoleon confided her to the care of his brother Joseph and his worthy and respectable wife. Madame Leclerc soon grew weary of leading a secluded life, and at last roundly informed Joseph of her intention to commit suicide unless allowed to receive her friends. If half that has been written about her by persons worthy of credit be true, she soon became as profligate as she was before her marriage, in spite of the threats and remonstrances of Napoleon.

In July 1803 we find Josephine writing the following letter to her daughter Hortense:

Lille: 20th Messidor, year XI.

No doubt you have heard that Madame Leclerc is going to marry the Prince Borghese. She wrote to Bonaparte a few days ago, saying she desires this union, which she thinks will be a happy one. She has asked Bonaparte to allow the Prince to write and demand her hand. It appears that Joseph and M. Angelini have made this match, &c.

JOSEPHINE.

Bonaparte at first refused the hand of his sister to the Prince; but the presumption is that this refusal

was not sincere, and was prompted only by the growing arrogance of the First Consul, who wished to avoid the appearance of jumping at the proposed alliance. At heart he was really flattered at the idea of *la jolie Paulette* becoming a princess, and entering one of the first families of Europe; and in addition to this the liaison between the Prince and his sister had become so public that a marriage was necessary. This union appears to have created quite a flutter among the old families in the Faubourg St. Germain, who felt themselves suddenly brought into contact with the Bonapartes. Strange to say, no official notifications were made of this marriage. The ceremony was celebrated without any pomp at Joseph's country residence of Mortfontaine, in the absence of Napoleon, who was at the camp of Boulogne. Joseph, who was of a desponding nature, is said to have been deeply pained at this period by the behaviour of his sister, whose intrigues had been the talk of Paris. He had no male issue himself; Napoleon was childless; Lucien had placed himself beyond the pale; neither Louis nor Jerome was married. It appeared to Joseph that Providence had decreed that France should return to her ancient masters, as it was hardly probable the country would consent to accept the offspring of Pauline. Thus groaned Joseph. The Princess de Borghese had no children; a child had been born to General Leclerc, but it had died in its infancy; and if we are to believe Mdlle. Avrillon, the mother felt the loss very acutely, and, with the courage of a Roman matron, insisted on burying it with her own hands.

The marriage with Prince Borghese did not turn

out as Pauline anticipated. Perhaps husband and wife resembled each other too much to agree. They were both handsome, vain, and capricious, and Prince Camille, like Pauline, was almost entirely uneducated, a fault to be attributed to his father, who said his son would always know enough for a subject of the Pope! The Prince is said to have treated his wife like a mistress, and there is very little doubt as to how she treated the Prince. A separation was soon spoken of, but Napoleon insisted upon an ostensible reconciliation. He wrote to Pauline—

Paris: April 6, 1804.

Madame, and dear Sister,—I have heard with pain that you have not had the good sense to accept the habits and customs of the city of Rome, that you despise the inhabitants, and that your eyes are constantly fixed on Paris. Although occupied with great affairs, I wish to make known my intentions, and hope you will conform to them.

Love your husband and his family, be *prévenante*, accustom yourself to the ways of Rome, and bear this in mind, that if at your age you follow bad advice, you must no longer count upon me.

As for Paris, you may be certain you will find no support, and that I will never receive you there without your husband. If you quarrel with him it will be your fault, and France will be closed to you. You will lose your own happiness and my friendship.

BONAPARTE.

The Malmaison: April 10, 1804.

Cardinal Fesch,—I send you a letter from Madame Paulette. I believe only half you have told me; however, it is painful for me to think that Madame Borghese does not feel how essential it is to her happiness to accustom herself to the ways of Rome, and to gain the esteem of that great city. Tell her from me that she is no longer pretty,

that she will be less so in a few years, and that all her life she ought to be good. It is also right that her husband should take into consideration the fact of her having lived in Paris, and that he should allow her the liberty to which women in our country are accustomed. She should make it a study to please the family of her husband and the great people in Rome, to behave in a way worthy of the rank she holds, and not to indulge in those bad manners which are condemned by well-bred persons belonging to the most frivolous society of the capital.

BONAPARTE.

At first the Prince joined the French army and went campaigning, conducting himself in the field to the satisfaction of his brother-in-law; he was then made a prefect in Italy, handsomely remunerated for his services, and afterwards went into Poland, where he endeavoured to encourage a revolution. He behaved with a certain amount of intrepidity at Austerlitz, and after the interview on the Niemen with Alexander, the French Emperor gave him a million francs, and sent him with despatches to Paris announcing the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit.

After the treaty of Campo Formio, Napoleon was able to boast that, in addition to 150,000 prisoners, 170 standards, 550 siege guns, and 600 field pieces, he had captured in that Italy which he went to liberate, he had seized upon the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Michael Angelo, Paul Veronese, Guercino, Correggio, the Caraccis, Raphael, Albani, and Leonardo da Vinci. Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Bologna had all been laid under contribution. We have already drawn attention to the wholesale plundering in which Napoleon indulged; but of all the 'looting' on record, that perpetrated by his Majesty on his brother-in-law, the

husband of Pauline, was the most remarkable. Prince Borghese, when the French had first ravaged Italy, had managed to preserve his art treasures. Suddenly, and to his great astonishment, Napoleon announced his intention of purchasing them. The Prince declared he had no intention of disposing of his gallery, which was an heirloom. The Emperor, exhibiting temper, exclaimed, 'I do not ask you if you will sell your collection, but to put a price upon it.' The Prince understanding that resistance would be vain, said that he had been offered a million sterling for it by an English company. The Emperor declared this price too high, but that he would give a fair sum, 18,000,000 francs (720,000*l.*), adding, 'I will shortly make you acquainted with the mode of payment.' A few days afterwards his Majesty communicated his mode of payment to his brother-in-law, and it much resembled that adopted by the Emperor in other large transactions. This is how he arranged the matter. The Prince was inscribed on the *Grand Livre* for 300,000 francs of *rente*, which, if the Government stock had been at par, which it was not, would have represented a capital of 6,000,000 francs. He received the domain of Lucedio in Piedmont, which Napoleon took from some one else. This was to represent another 6,000,000 francs, whereas it really only represented half that sum in a precarious manner. One million was to be expended in finishing the Prince's hotel in Paris, and 4,000,000 were to remain in the hands of his Majesty to be laid out at some future period for the benefit of the Prince. On adding up the various items the Prince found that 6 and 6 made 12, and 1, 13, and 4,

17—17,000,000 francs, and not 18,000,000. Upon communicating this discovery to the Emperor, his Majesty ejaculated—'And the million I gave you at Tilsit!' It is true that Napoleon afterwards made some amends for this arbitrary act by augmenting the revenues of his sister Pauline, whose extravagance knew no bounds.

In 1807, while Napoleon was in Poland, the court in Paris was tolerably gay, and we find the Princess Borghese 'playing the invalid and indulging in the amusements of gallantry.' March 19 being the day of St. Joseph, and consequently the fête day of Josephine, the two Princesses, Pauline Borghese and Caroline Murat, offered an entertainment to the Empress. A great number of persons were bidden to this festival, at which a sort of comedy was played and many couplets sung in honour of the glory of Napoleon and the goodness and grace of Josephine. The two Princesses, who played the part of shepherdesses in this Arcadian piece, are said to have been lovely as angels, but to have sung out of tune. Junot, who at the moment was military governor of Paris, played the part of a soldier just returned from the tented field, and was supposed to be in love with one of the shepherdesses. Madame de Rémusat, in alluding to this episode, says, '*Cette situation paraissait leur convenir beaucoup, soit dans la représentation soit ailleurs.*' There certainly something extremely piquant in Junot, the quondam suitor for the hand of *la jolie Paulette*, but who at the moment was desperately in love with Caroline Murat, playing the Don Juan to the Charlotte and Mathurine of the beautiful sisters.

On this occasion the Emperor wrote to congratulate Josephine, saying: 'Far from you I suffer from *ennui*. The harshness of the climate damps my spirits. We all long for Paris, that Paris which is everywhere regretted, and for whose sake we are ever in pursuit of glory; and all that, Josephine, in order to be applauded on our return by the pit of the Opera. As soon as the spring arrives I hope to wash the heads of the Russians, and then, ladies, we will return to you, and you will give us crowns.' As it happened, Napoleon, when he returned to Paris in July, was terribly out of humour and abused everyone. 'He did not even spare his own family, and severely scolded, but very uselessly, his sister Pauline, about her accustomed gallantries, which the Prince Borghese saw, or affected to see, with indifference.'

In 1808 Prince Borghese was appointed governor-general of Piedmont, Genoa, and Parma, and established his residence at Turin, where he and his wife were always squabbling about precedence, Pauline considering that as sister to the French Emperor she was superior to her husband, who owed his post to Napoleon. A curious scene is reported to have happened on the frontier when the Prince and Princess reached the first French village on their way to Paris. The mayor came out with an address, which was duly read; but what was his bewilderment, and that of his municipal council, when both the Governor-General and his wife replied at the same time, and when each refused to give way to the other.

Towards the close of 1808, Joseph wrote a letter to Napoleon from Terni, containing the following paragraph, which shows the subjection in which the

Emperor maintained his family. The extract ran thus: 'I found Paulette here in a deplorable condition; the doctors have ordered her to Aix, but Borghese awaits your orders on the subject.'

In 1806 the Emperor had settled the duchy of Guastalla on Pauline; but three years afterwards, considering the revenues yielded by that principality insufficient, he wrote her the following letter:

Paris: March 1, 1809.

My Sister,—It being my intention to raise the revenue of the duchy of Guastalla to more than 1,150,000 francs (46,000*l.*) I have ordered as follows:—

1. Lands yielding a revenue of 300,000 francs taken in the grand duchy of Berg.

2. Lands yielding a revenue of 150,000 francs taken in the state of Ost-Frise.

3. Lands yielding a revenue of 200,000 francs taken in the county of Hanau.

4. Lands yielding a revenue of 150,000 francs taken in Westphalia.[1]

[1] Berg had been ceded to France by Bavaria, in 1806, together with the bishoprick of Munster and the earldom of Marck, which were given to Murat, and which he kept until he accepted the throne of Naples in 1808. In 1809 the grand duchy was bestowed on the second son of King Louis of Holland. Two years later it was stripped of 1,281 square miles, which were incorporated with France. It was transferred to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna.

As for Ost, or Eastern Frise, that, together with Jever, and the little ports of Varel and Kniphausen, had been taken from Hanover and given to Holland by the treaty of Tilsit in 1808, in exchange for Flushing, and they naturally reverted to France when Louis fled from Holland and that kingdom was incorporated with the Empire. Hanover had been seized by Napoleon in 1803, and had been 'incorporated for ever with Prussia' in 1806, in the hopes of getting that power into difficulties with England, in exchange for Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchâtel. In 1807 Napoleon repossessed himself of Hanover, and kept it until after Leipzig.

In the distribution of territories made after the peace of Vienna in

This will make an augmentation of 800,000 francs of revenue for the duchy of Guastalla. These 800,000 francs, joined to the 200,000 francs of *rente* for which you are inscribed in the *Grand Livre*, and the 180,000 francs from the allodial property of the duchy of Guastalla, or the salt mines, will carry the revenues of the duchy to 1,180,000 francs.

You will enjoy this augmentation of revenue from January 1, 1809, and thus have means to keep up your rank and to leave Prince Borghese his other revenues (*sic*). But at the same time I have ordered that the 480,000 francs which you drew from the privy purse be reduced to 150,000 francs. I have directed M. Estève to pay you the revenue of the grand duchy of Berg from January 1, 1808, which will leave you free to dispose of a sum of 150,000 francs. This will insure you for the year 1809 a revenue of 1,300,000 francs for yourself alone.

The Prince Borghese will enjoy therefore a revenue of 150,000 francs for Lucedio,[1] 75,000 francs on the salt mines, 300,000 francs on the *Grand Livre*, 300,000 francs his salary. Total, 825,000 francs, independently of 275,000 francs which he can draw from Rome. He will have 1,100,000 francs of revenue. I desire you to see in these dispositions a proof of the affection I bear you. You can send for M. Daru, who will give you all the information of which you may stand in need.—Your affectionate brother,

NAPOLEON.

1809 Bavaria received Salzbourg, Ratisbon, and Bayreuth, but was deprived of the Italian Tyrol, which was given to Italy; of Ulm, which was given to Wurtemberg; and of parts of the Palatinate, given to Baden. The principality of Ratisbon had been taken from another of Napoleon's allies, the Prince Primate and President of the German Confederation, who was indemnified by receiving Frankfort and the territories formed by Fulda and Hanau.

What portion of Westphalia was taken from Jerome, who was always complaining of the impoverishment of his kingdom to augment the revenue of his sister in Italy, is not mentioned.

[1] Which hardly represented a capital of 6,000,000 francs.

It might have been imagined that what with Spanish affairs, Austrian affairs, Russian affairs, Papal affairs, Dutch affairs, Swedish affairs, German affairs, his continental blockade, his chronic war with England, his difficulties with the United States on the subject of the Berlin decrees, and his complicated internal affairs, Napoleon would have had too much on hand to busy himself with such details as the above. However, Napoleon loved dabbling, giving and taking, and exchanging; adding to and taking from, disturbing and rearranging, till it becomes marvellous how his brain could have retained the various territorial organisations which he gave to the Empire of France, the kingdom of Holland, Westphalia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Italy, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, the Confederation of the Rhine, Grand Duchies, Duchies, Principalities, Republics, and Papal States. But at this moment his Majesty, by the peace of Vienna, had a good deal of territory to dispose of. He had promised not to extend the limits of his Empire beyond the Rhine, so he gave Salzburg, Ratisbon, and Bayreuth to Bavaria, but took away from her the Italian Tyrol, which like the German Tyrol had been accorded to her four years before, after Austerlitz, and which was now to be annexed to Italy. Ulm, too, was given to Wurtemberg, and portions of the Palatinate to Baden And in the midst of these arrangements it had occurred to Napoleon to make over some of the spoil to Pauline, so that she might be able to sustain her exalted rank without having recourse to the purse of her husband, and possess in her own right 80,000 francs a year more than Prince Borghese

Pauline Borghese could never remain long from Paris, and though she took little part in the vile intrigues by which Napoleon was always being prompted to put away Josephine, we find her occupying the place of the Empress after the divorce. She appears to have been opposed to the Austrian marriage, and her conduct towards Marie Louise was so insufferable that *la jolie Paulette* had to be forbidden the court and ordered to take up her residence at Neuilly, where, however, she amused herself to her heart's content with a small if a not very select circle.

When the crash came, and the thrones and dominations of Napoleon vanished like a dream, Pauline Borghese exhibited both courage and generosity. She forgot the recent harshness of her brother, and only remembered the benefits with which he had overwhelmed her. A deep and durable attachment was concealed beneath all her levity. When Napoleon was at Elba, Pauline Borghese repaired thither and gave him her money and her jewels; she also acted as his emissary in Italy, and arranged a reconciliation between Murat and her brother, a reconciliation destined to be fraught with more harm than good.

In the 'Correspondence of Napoleon' we find the following 'decision:'

Porto Ferrajo: January 29, 1814.

Not having ordered this expense, which is not carried to the budget, the Princess will pay it herself. It will be the same with all other expenditure of the same nature which has not been approved of.

NAPOLEON.

It appears that Bertrand, the grand master of the

palace, had presented a bill of 62 francs 30 cents for eight blinds for the drawing-room of the Princess Borghese. The Princess had furnished the linen herself.

After Waterloo, Pauline Borghese repaired to Rome, where so many members of her family had settled, and which became a sort of *refugium peccatorum*. She desired to return to her husband, who had deserted the Imperial cause after the abdication at Fontainebleau, and from whom she had long been virtually separated, not by law but in fact; but he refused to receive her. Like the other Bonapartes she had experienced a warm welcome from the Pope, who was well aware of her backslidings, and who, though he had been despoiled, imprisoned, and otherwise ill-treated by Napoleon, bore him no animosity. He knew that the family of the man he had excommunicated *in divinis* had always pleaded in his behalf, and were thoroughly Catholic, like nearly all Corsicans. Pius VII. attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Prince Borghese and his wife, and appointed Cardinals Consalvi, Spada, and Della Somaglia, to settle their differences to the best of their ability. This conclave *in petto*, which did not effect much in spite of its high sacerdotal character, decided that the Borghese Palace should be divided in two, one half for the Prince, the other half for the Princess; and his Holiness went so far as to arrange the pecuniary affairs of Napoleon's sister.

Pauline, though suffering severely from ill-health, had long bent her mind upon joining Napoleon at St. Helena, and had just received permission from the allies to make the voyage, when the news of his death

arrived. This was a terrible blow to Pauline in her feeble condition. She lingered on for a few years, but never recovered the shock. Taken desperately ill in 1825, she repaired to the baths of Pisa, and feeling that her last hour was approaching, made a final appeal to her husband, who resided in a splendid palace at Florence, to receive her. Touched by her entreaties and her deplorable and helpless condition, Prince Borghese consented, and his beautiful and erring wife had the consolation of receiving his pardon and of dying in his arms.

Pauline had a sister-in-law, Aimée, who was a great favourite of the Empress Josephine, and who became Duchess d'Eckmuhl (Davoust). The story of her marriage was thus related by herself. At the time of the St. Domingo expedition, Bonaparte, as we have seen, decided upon entrusting the command of the troops to his brother-in-law, General Leclerc. He sent for the General, and abruptly informed him of his intention. Leclerc objected that a sacred tie obliged him to remain in France.

'Your love for Paulette? 'She will accompany you. Change of air will do her good.'

The General said the obstacle was not his wife but his sister, who would be left alone in the world.

'We must have her married directly—to-morrow, for example.'

'But I have no fortune to give her!'

'Am I not here? To-morrow your sister shall be married. I don't know exactly to whom.'

Shortly afterwards Davoust entered, to inform Napoleon that he was about to be married.

'To Mdlle. Leclerc? I find the match very suitable.'

'No, General; with Madame . .

'To Mdlle. Leclerc.'

And Davoust was sent off to Madame Campan's in quest of his future bride. The marriage took place, and for several years the young duchess was extremely unhappy; but in the end her warlike lord learned to appreciate the numerous qualities of a most excellent and virtuous wife.

An enthusiastic biographer considers this match one of the most important acts ever accomplished by Napoleon, and one which exercised a considerable influence on his career. 'Had Davoust,' says the writer, 'married anyone but a relation of the Bonapartes, would he have become so eminent an actor on so vast a stage? Would the battles of Jena and Wagram, to the gaining of which he so powerfully contributed, have been won? Would Prussia have been crushed? Would an Austrian princess have filled the throne of France? Had he not by his persistence induced Napoleon to march upon Moscow, would Paris have beheld the smoke of Russian bivouacs? Had a younger and more enterprising general commanded in Paris at the close of the Hundred Days, would the Bourbons have recovered their crown without bloodshed?'

There is no doubt that this ungainly marshal, who was obese, short-sighted, and who shuffled and rolled along in the most unsoldierly manner, rendered Napoleon splendid service in the field. The great blot on his memory is his conduct at Hamburg, where he acquired the title of Robespierre, and where a durable

monument still exists recording an act of wanton cruelty.

It is only fair to the memory of the Marshal to add that, according to his Memoirs, published in 1880, the severities of which he was guilty were due to the reiterated orders of Napoleon.

XIII.

CAROLINE MURAT.

CAROLINE MARIE ANNONCIADE, the youngest daughter of Charles Bonaparte, was born in 1782, and, as Napoleon said, like Pauline and Jerome, she was still a child when he was the first man in France. This may account for that unbridled ambition which she exhibited on many occasions, and which rendered her fall all the more painful when it came. She had in a manner been born to the purple, and she had been educated at Madame Campan's. Napoleon highly appreciated her talents and her personal attractions, and often allowed himself to be influenced by her advice. She was not quite so lovely as Pauline, but was far superior to her in mental capacity, and in fact she exhibited almost if not the same talent for government as her sister Eliza. Her administration of Naples, when entrusted with the Regency, was exceedingly wise, energetic, and humane. Like the Semiramis of Lucca, she protected men of letters and founded schools ; she recalled exiles and released political prisoners. Alluding at the same time to her beauty and her administrative capabilities, Talleyrand declared that she had the head of Cromwell placed on the shoulders of a pretty woman—she was half Venus, half old Noll.

At a very early date Napoleon had the idea of uniting his youngest sister to his rival Moreau, but as Marmont declined the hand of Pauline and Duroc that of Hortense, so the hero of Hohenlinden declined that of Caroline Bonaparte. And this refusal no doubt entirely changed the destiny of the talented soldier, who fell years afterwards at Dresden, struck down by a French bullet while commanding the allied forces against Napoleon. Moreau bestowed his hand elsewhere, and this was the beginning of that quarrel with Napoleon which ended in his exile and his inglorious death. At the time of Moreau's arrest on the charge of being implicated in the Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru conspiracy, Murat was acting as chief of the secret police, and it was owing to his malignant reports that the First Consul considered himself justified in throwing his rival into prison, and ordering not only his trial but his sentence. Both Napoleon and Murat had serious private griefs against Moreau. The 'Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat' contain the following page, which throws some light upon this matter. She says:

After 1802 I never saw General Moreau at Bonaparte's. They were on bad terms. The former had an intriguing mother-in-law and wife, and Bonaparte could not tolerate intriguing women. Besides, upon one occasion the mother of Madame Moreau, while at the Malmaison, permitted herself to make some bitter jests on the scandalous intimacy which was supposed to reign between Bonaparte and his sister Caroline, who had just been married. The First Consul, who had not pardoned this language, ill-treated the mother and the daughter. Moreau complained; he lived in retirement, surrounded by friends who daily augmented his irritation; and Murat, the chief of a secret and active

police, detected a feeling of discontent to which no great importance should have been attached, and unceasingly carried the most ill-natured reports to the Tuileries.

Madame de Rémusat makes no comments upon this 'scandalous intimacy,' concerning which Josephine spoke to her in terms quite as plain as those employed by Lewis Goldsmith, and to which other writers have openly alluded.

Caroline, after Moreau had declined her hand, accompanied her brother Joseph to Rome on that mission which ended with the death of General Duphot; and in Rome she appears to have met Murat for the first time, and also to have attracted the attention of the Prince Santa Croce. She is said to have preferred the aide-de-camp to the Prince, and Murat's suit seems to have been backed up by Madame Bonaparte and Madame Tallien, who obtained the grade of general for him from the Directory, with the members of which governing body the two ladies were on the most intimate terms. Bourrienne, who was the intimate secretary of Bonaparte at the period in question, has written a curious chapter on this affair. He says that Murat, having been sent to Paris with the flags captured during the first Italian campaign, made the acquaintance of Madame Bonaparte and Madame Tallien, who were much struck by his appearance, and procured his promotion. After his return to the army, Murat got into trouble; on being ordered to charge Wurmser he declined, pretended he had been wounded, and fell into disgrace. According to the same authority, it was owing to the influence of the two ladies above-mentioned that Murat was sent to Egypt, where

by his brilliant conduct and reckless bravery he recovered the favour of Bonaparte, and this in spite of the fact that he was one of the persons named by Junot as having given the young General just cause for jealousy. However this may be, not long after the return from Egypt, Napoleon consented to the union with Caroline. If he hesitated for a short time it was because he objected to his sister marrying the son of an innkeeper, and because he would have preferred Prince Santa Croce for a brother-in-law. But Josephine, who had been pardoned for the sins she had committed, or had been accused of committing, pleaded in favour of Murat. She looked upon Murat as her friend, and thought the alliance would strengthen her own position; but she was as mistaken in this as when she forced Louis Bonaparte to marry Hortense. Caroline too was anxious for the marriage, which 'it became highly desirable to celebrate at once.' Bourrienne says that when Napoleon yielded he observed to him, 'You can guess why Josephine is interested in this match.' But Bourrienne does not explain what Napoleon meant; whether he intended to hint that Josephine was anxious to get rid of a rival, or to arrange what she no doubt considered an advantageous marriage for a quondam admirer. The wedding was celebrated at the Luxembourg, after the fashion of the day, by the civil authorities, and a couple of years later, when Louis and Hortense were married, Napoleon insisted on Murat and his wife receiving the nuptial benediction from the priest. On her marriage, Bonaparte could only afford to give his sister 30,000 francs, but he made up for this at a later date. It is strange that

about the time when Napoleon's brother Lucien married the daughter, his sister Caroline should have married the son of an innkeeper. The First Consul, however, consoled himself for the latter misfortune by reflecting that if he had married Caroline to a nobleman like Santa Croce, he would have had all the Jacobins on his back; and in 1800 the Jacobins were still formidable, and had to be counted with.

It is necessary here to give a slight sketch of the early life of Murat. He was born at Cahors in 1771, educated for the Church, and was sent to Toulouse to take out his degree, but getting into debt, he ran away and enlisted in a cavalry regiment. He had not been long in the corps when he was cashiered for an act of insubordination, but he rejoined the ranks and was serving in the Constitutional Guard when the 9th Thermidor arrived, and the Reign of Terror was brought to a close. Again he was obliged to leave the army, this time on the charge of being a Terrorist, and of having demanded to change his name from Murat to Marat, when the 'Friend of the People' was stabbed in his bath by Charlotte Corday. Once more he re-entered the service, and soon found means of distinguishing himself, and getting placed on the staff of General Bonaparte, under whose orders he forgot his Jacobin notions as soon as they went out of fashion.

This alliance with Murat proved a sad disappointment to Josephine, who had soon no two more malignant and persevering enemies at court than Caroline and her husband. They were unceasing in their efforts to induce Napoleon to demand a divorce, and no means were considered too base to bring about

this desired end. The Murats were constantly throwing pretty women in the way of Napoleon, in the hope that he would desert Josephine, and used to lend him their house for his private interviews. It is curious to think of this dashing cavalry officer, who was destined to sit on the throne of Naples, playing the pimp at Paris and the camp of Boulogne, and being sent on to Warsaw with Duroc, charged by the Emperor with the duty 'of informing themselves as to the means of satisfying his passing fancies.' Both Murat and his wife hated the Beauharnais family, root and branch, and pursued them in the most relentless manner, losing no opportunity of exciting Napoleon against them. Their malevolence was such that it several times overshot the mark; and it was the same with their ambition, which was more than once sharply reproved by the Emperor. She cried with rage when the wives of Joseph and of Louis were made princesses when she was merely Madame Murat, and so little disguised her ill-humour that Napoleon said, 'To see your pretensions, one would believe we received the crown from the late king our father.'

On November 28, 1806, Murat made his entry into Warsaw, and was received with enthusiasm by the Poles, who thought that the French were bringing them liberty. A bulletin which announced this entry, and which was couched in ambiguous language, ran thus: 'The throne of Poland, will it be re-established? God alone, who holds in his hands the combinations of events, is the arbitrator of this great political problem.'

Long before the Almighty decided this question there were several candidates in the field: Jerome,

not yet King of Westphalia, thought he might obtain the crown ; and so did Murat, who had fought his way thither, and who had entered the gates of Warsaw in the most theatrical uniform, and with his hat covered with feathers—as people said, there was always something of Franconi about him. Murat was tolerably certain of success. He had been successively made Marshal, Lord High Admiral,[1] and Grand Duke of Berg ; and it is only fair to say that the grand duchy had been well governed, although too liberally according to the Napoleonic idea. The Empress Josephine, too, had hopes that her son might be called to reign over the Poles ; and, says Madame de Rémusat, 'later, when the Emperor had a natural son, of whose destiny I am now ignorant, it was towards this infant that the Poles turned their eyes.' We

[1] It is curious that Murat and the Duc d'Angoulême should have been the two last High Admirals of France, and that the former should have commanded an army which forced Ferdinand of Spain from his throne, while the latter, in 1823, commanded another French army, which reinstated the same monarch for the second time. The title of Admiral was often conferred on military men, and an ordinance of Philip IV. sets forth that each wing of the army was to be led by a prince or an admiral. One of the most renowned French soldiers, who like my Lord Peterborough was 'a land commander and a tar'—or at all events an admiral—was the unfortunate Coligny. Admiral Bonnivet, too, greatly distinguished himself ashore during the reign of Francis I. He was that monarch's chief military adviser, and it was on his counsel that Francis fought the battle of Pavia, where he fell into the hands of Charles V. That the same practice was observed in England is shown by the lines in *Marmion*, where that wounded knight exclaims :

> . . . My life is reft,
> The admiral alone is left.
> Let Stanley charge with spur of fire,
> With Che-ter charge, and Lancashire,
> Full upon Scotland's central host,

shall allude to Madame Walewska and her son hereafter. Madame de Rémusat cannot explain why Napoleon did not follow the bent of his feelings and the advice of Talleyrand, and re-establish the kingdom of Poland. In Paris, she says, people were so certain that Murat would reign, that his wife was complimented on her accession, a fact 'which perhaps shook the determination of the Emperor, who disliked being anticipated in anything.' Certain it is that the Poles were basely deceived, and that Joachim and Caroline Murat were terribly disappointed.

In February 1808 Napoleon wrote to Murat from Paris, telling him that he had appointed him his lieutenant of the army of Spain, and giving him a variety of instructions in connection with the infamous proceedings by which it was proposed to subjugate that distracted country. On the 30th of the same month Napoleon wrote a letter to Jerome in which he said, 'the time may come when Murat will be placed *somewhere else*,' evidently hinting at Spain; and giving his younger brother to understand that the Grand Duchy of Berg would fall to him. However this may have been, the Emperor soon changed his mind, and Murat was destined to another disappointment. On March 27 the throne of Spain was offered to King Louis of Holland, and when Louis refused it, Joseph was obliged to accept it. This was all the more galling to Murat as he had not only carried out his instructions with singular sagacity and success, but on one or two occasions had acted upon his own initiative in a manner which had elicited the approval of Napoleon. When Murat occupied Madrid, and sent off the remain-

ing members of the royal family to Bayonne where Charles and Ferdinand had already arrived, there was an *émeute* which he soon repressed; the streets were swept by artillery, and Polish lancers and Mamelukes pursued and sabred the fugitives. The resistance was of short duration. The Junta interceded, and in exchange for the most complete submission Murat promised a general amnesty. However, no sooner had the insurgents, trusting in this arrangement, returned to their usual occupations, than about one hundred of them were arrested and shot without trial. 'Memorable example of cool and calculating cruelty,' says M. Lanfrey, 'which the thirst for reigning can inspire in a man born with good and generous instincts. Murat only saw in this act of repression the security of his future kingdom. . . . But the blood shed by Murat was not destined to profit either master or pupil. It proved a fatal blow to the domination of Napoleon by filling the hearts of the Spaniards with a profound and unanimous execration. As for Murat a cruel deception awaited him. One is permitted to believe that he experienced at heart some remorse for having committed such atrocities; but how much more bitter must these feelings have been when he saw their price escape him? The very day that he shot down the patriots of Madrid, Napoleon wrote to tell him he must renounce for ever the throne which he coveted, and for which he had shed so much blood and had perjured himself.'

The offer of the crown of Spain to Louis had been kept secret, but now Napoleon wrote that Joseph was to reign in Spain. Murat, however, was offered

Naples or Portugal, and he accepted the former, and ascended the throne as Joachim Napoleon.

Madame de Rémusat has given us a sketch of Caroline Murat at this epoch. She was not devoid of gaiety and humour, and could be sometimes good-natured. She lived in great luxury, and was always sumptuously served at table. She had gold plate such as even the Emperor did not possess. She often saw M. de Metternich, who was young, handsome, and appeared to notice the Emperor's sister. She quickly perceived this, and either through *coquetterie* or 'ambitious precaution' accepted the attentions and the homage of an ambassador who enjoyed some credit at court and might be useful to her. Whether she had this idea or not beforehand, this support did not fail her. Prince Metternich in his memoirs says little about Caroline Murat beyond this; that she exercised a great influence over her brother, and that her great ambition was to create an existence for herself and the rest of her family as much as possible beyond the reach of Napoleon and the variations to which his fortune was liable owing to his excesses and his insatiable rapacity. It is true that when difficulties arrived Prince Metternich was found useful; perhaps because the interests of the great statesman and those of the Queen of Naples were identical or both anti-Bourbon.

At the same time we are assured that Madame Murat showed herself very gracious towards M. de Talleyrand, who did not prove 'restive.' The Grand Duchess of Berg never concealed her desire to wield a sceptre like her brother; she declared she felt quite equal to the task, and reproached Talleyrand with

opposing her views. Talleyrand, in his turn, poked fun at Murat, and his want of talent, and this without annoying the princess, who took no trouble to defend her husband; but in the end the minister appears to have been won over.

When seated on the throne of Naples a good many conjugal quarrels occurred. The Emperor, who had the highest opinion of the talents of his sister, treated her with an amount of consideration which was galling to Murat. During the first years of his reign Napoleon could not bring himself to accord the title of Majesty to Murat, who on his side declared he would never allow himself to be led by the nose like Felix Bacciochi. Queen Caroline had to support a good deal of ill-treatment, but she always managed to regain the ascendant, and it has been remarked that Murat committed blunders only when he neglected to follow the counsels of his wife. We may entertain some doubts upon this head, but what is certain is, that prompted by his wife, Murat made an attempt to reign in reality; an attempt which no more succeeded than those made by Louis, by Joseph, and by Jerome. By way of shaking off the domination of his terrible brother-in-law, Murat declared that all Frenchmen desiring to remain in the Neapolitan administration must become naturalised. Napoleon immediately annulled this decree and decided that all Frenchmen were *de jure* citizens of the Two Sicilies. Murat is said to have fallen ill with rage, but he was afraid to resist. Caroline, too, had a short time before been herself cruelly humiliated. She had gone to France for the wedding of her brother, and had received Marie Louise from the hands of the

Austrian commissioners at Brunnau. But at the marriage ceremony she had been obliged to hold up the train of the new Empress, and we are assured that she returned to Naples, her heart filled with venom.

However, the quarrels with Napoleon were patched up, at all events ostensibly, and Murat accepted a command in the grand army, which, 'while the fields were green and the skies were blue, *Morbleu! Parbleu!*' marched on the road to Moscow. We have little concern with this memorable disaster, which

> Gave to slaughter and to shame
> A mightier host and haughtier name

than that of Charles XII. When Napoleon deserted his army at Smorgoni on December 5, 1812, he handed over the command to the King of Naples, who in his turn handed it over to Eugène de Beauharnais. The Emperor was highly irritated on learning that his brother-in-law had imitated his bad example and had hurried back to his kingdom, but he was unable to take any serious notice of the matter. He had it inserted in the 'Moniteur' that the King of Naples, being indisposed, had handed the command of the grand army over to the viceroy of Italy, and to Caroline he wrote: 'The King of Naples has left the army.' Your husband is brave on the field of battle, but when he does not see the enemy he is as weak as a woman or a monk, and has no moral courage.' To Murat himself he wrote: 'I shall not speak of my dissatisfaction with your conduct since you left the army, for that is due to the weakness of your character. You are a good soldier on the field of battle, but beyond that you have no vigour.

I suppose you are one of those who think that the lion is dead. If you imagine this, you are much mistaken.'

It might have been supposed that the connection between Murat and Napoleon would have ceased here; but the King of Naples once more appeared in the field, although there is reason to suspect that immediately after his return from Russia he commenced negotiations with Austria. However this may be, Murat followed his leader once more, and was present at the fatal field of Leipsic, where, as Béranger sang, Europe beheld the French eagles fall, 'drunk with renown, worn out with glory.' Convinced that the widespread domination of Napoleon was now seriously menaced, and listening to the counsels of his wife, the King of Naples entered into fresh arrangements with the Court of Vienna, which under certain conditions guaranteed him his throne, Austria having no desire to see the Bourbons back in Italy. In a minute on the congress of Vienna, Prince Metternich said: 'France showed a natural interest to resume her old influence in Italy through the re-establishment of the dispossessed branches of the Bourbons in Parma, and especially in Naples, while it was Austria's duty first of all to consolidate her own power; then to preserve Parma, which a recent and formal convention had assured to the Empress Marie Louise; lastly to support the King of Naples, whose cause she had embraced for the wisest and most powerful motives.' Afterwards, in a memorandum on Italy, Prince Metternich, after remarking that the question of Naples was an exceedingly difficult and knotty one, added: 'On April 10, 1814, Austria signed a treaty of friend-

ship and alliance with the King of Naples, by which she solemnly promised to aid him against all his enemies. The relations established by this treaty have up to the present guided Austria in all her dealings with that government, and the Emperor Francis has upon all occasions declared and confirmed that he will never abandon the King of Naples. All the allies of Austria knew and approved of these engagements at the time she formed them ; the English ministers even made some corrections in the treaty. . . . By a secret article of January 11, 1814, an article specially approved of by the British Government, an increase of territory amounting to a population of 400,000 souls, to be taken from the possessions of the Pope, was stipulated for in favour of the King of Naples.' He went on to say: 'It is the general interest of Austria to weaken as far as possible the influence of the House of Bourbon in Italy ; besides, she is bound to King Joachim by solemn engagements which it would not be easy to break ; and seeing the fermentation which at present reigns all through Italy, an enemy such as Murat, who would defend himself to the last extremity, would be most dangerous for Austria.' However, the Pope, who had at first consented to treat with Murat, finally insisted on the restoration of the Bourbons, which was warmly advocated both by France and Spain. Lord Castlereagh every time the subject was approached 'appeared to be walking on hot coals,' and was evidently afraid of compromising himself on either side. This hesitation on the part of the congress alarmed Murat for the safety of his throne, and induced him to listen to the supplications of Pauline, to which may have been

joined those of his ambitious wife, who fancied she saw the way to her husband sitting on the throne of Lombardy or making himself master of Italy up to the Po. Napoleon made his escape from Elba, and at the moment when Austria and the allies thought that they could count upon the co-operation of the King of Naples, he cast in his lot with his brother-in-law. Napoleon has left upon record what he thought of Murat's conduct during the last days of the Empire. Discussing one day at St. Helena his system of government, he bitterly remarked: 'After all, another line of policy would not have prevented my fall. I was betrayed by Marmont, of whom I could say that he was my son, my child, my work; to whom I confided my destinies in sending him to Paris at the very moment he consummated his treason and my ruin. I was betrayed by Murat, that soldier whom I had made king, and who was the husband of my sister. I was betrayed by Berthier, a gosling whom I had transformed into a kind of eagle. I was betrayed in the Senate precisely by those members who belonged to the national party and who owed me everything. No doubt I might have been accused of having too easily employed former enemies, or nobles and *émigrés*, if a Macdonald, a Valence, or a Montesquiou had betrayed me; but they remained faithful. If taunted with the stupidity of Murat and Berthier I can point to the talent of Marmont. I have therefore nothing to repent of as far as my internal policy is concerned.' There is certainly something to be urged in palliation of the treason of the three marshals mentioned above. Napoleon would not lay aside the sword; he had rejected the offers of the allies at Dresden and

Châtillon, against the advice of all his comrades, and of all his counsellors with the exception perhaps of Maret, Duc de Bassano, that most fawning and unpopular of ministers. It was impossible for the marshals and politicians of the Empire not to see that Napoleon was hurrying them and their country on to certain destruction, that France was nearly exhausted, that her means alike of aggression and of defence were dwindling rapidly away, that her enemies were increasing in numbers, in strength, and determination, and that the Emperor himself exhibited symptoms of fatigue, had lost a great deal of his former energy, and no longer astonished the world by his brilliant conceptions. They saw nothing before them but war after war and the desolation of desolations; and Napoleon may be quite as well charged with having betrayed his friends as his friends be charged with having betrayed him. In 1814, when Murat refused the Emperor any further assistance, he issued a manifesto in which he blamed Napoleon for continuing the war, and declared that it was both in the interest of his native country and in that of Naples, that he had determined to join the allies. Had this step been taken openly and decisively there would have been grounds for excusing Murat's conduct. But the King of Naples acted with duplicity, and from personal interest. On July 13, 1814, Napoleon wrote to Fouché from Château Thierry, saying: 'The conduct of the King of Naples is infamous, and there is no name for that of the queen. I hope I shall live long enough to revenge both myself and France for this insult and want of gratitude.' And on the 26th the Emperor wrote to Joseph: 'It appears the allies have

not yet ratified the treaty with the King of Naples. Send some one to him with all speed. Write to him frankly on the iniquity of his conduct. Write also to the queen on her ingratitude, which nothing can justify and which revolts even the allies.' And in conversation he said: 'I knew Murat was wrong-headed, but I thought he was attached to me. It is his wife who has caused his defection. Caroline, my sister, to betray me!'

During his captivity, Napoleon, dwelling on the misfortunes of 1814, said:

Murat is one of the great causes that we are here. However, the first fault was mine. I made several of my family too great; I raised them far above their talent. A few days ago I read Murat's proclamation, which I had never seen before. It is difficult to conceive anything more base. He says in it that the time has arrived to choose between two banners, that of crime and of virtue. It is mine he calls that of crime. And it is Murat, made by me, the husband of my sister, who owes me everything, who was nothing, who only exists and is known through me, who writes that! It would be difficult to separate oneself from misfortune with greater brutality, or to rush in quest of new fortunes in a more shameless manner. Madame Mère, when she heard of this, would have nothing more to say to either Murat or his wife, in spite of all the efforts made to induce her to alter her decision. Her constant reply was that she had a horror of traitors and of treason. As soon as she went to Rome after our disaster of 1814, Murat hastened to send her eight beautiful horses from his stables in Naples. Madame Mère would not hear of accepting them. She even rejected all the attempts of her daughter Caroline, who never ceased repeating that after all it was not her fault, that she had nothing to do with the matter, that she was unable to command her husband. But Madame

Mère answered like Clytemnestra [who betrayed and who then murdered her husband], 'If you could not command him, you should have resisted him. What resistance have you offered? What blood has been shed? It was only over your dead body that your husband should have been able to pierce your brother, your benefactor, your master!'

On my return from the isle of Elba, Murat lost his head on learning I had disembarked. The first news he received informed him that I had reached Lyons. He was accustomed to my sudden changes of fortune. He had more than once seen me under prodigious circumstances. He believed me already master of Europe, and no longer thought of wresting Italy from me, for that was the great goal of his ambition. . . . He ruined himself and contributed to ruin us a second time, because the Austrians, never doubting that it was at my instigation that he took up arms against them, distrusted me and would no longer believe in my word.

According to Napoleon, Murat by his courage and audacity might have saved him in 1814, if instead of attacking Eugène Beauharnais he had joined the viceroy of Italy, had forced the gorges of the Tyrol, and had fallen on the rear of the allies. During the time he was at Elba Napoleon says he never condescended to hold any communication with the King of Naples, but when he was leaving for France he wrote to him saying he was going to take possession of his throne, and that if Murat liked he would obliterate the past from his memory, would pardon his recent conduct, would restore him his friendship, and would send him some one to sign a treaty guaranteeing him his states; at the same time he recommended him above everything to maintain his good relations with the Austrians and to content himself with restraining them in case they should wish

to march upon France. Murat, in a fit of juvenile generosity, declined guarantee and signature, declaring that the word and the friendship of the Emperor were sufficient, that he had been more unfortunate than culpable, and that his devotion and his ardour would gain forgiveness for the past. 'But,' said Napoleon, 'it was the destiny of Murat to injure us. He first ruined us by abandoning us, and then by espousing our cause too warmly; he acted without prudence; he himself attacked the Austrians without any well-conceived plan, without sufficient means, and he succumbed.' The Austrians seized the occasion to accuse Napoleon of ambitious views, and of wishing to recommence his career of conquest. Before this rash attack on the part of Murat he had entered upon negotiations with Austria, and had obtained a promise of neutrality from some of the secondary powers. In fact Murat appears to have lost all command over himself; he left Naples on March 16 at the head of an army, after having diminished the taxes and promised a representative government. The Austrians, unprepared for this attack, were at first taken by surprise and fell back on the Po; but there they turned round and inflicted a severe defeat on Murat, who, abandoned by the greater portion of his army, pursued, and once more beaten at Tolentino, was obliged to renounce his designs and to fly for safety to France. He first took refuge at Lyons, then went to Toulon, and on the second fall of the Empire made his way with great difficulty to Corsica, where he allowed himself to be inveigled into that fatal expedition which cost him his life. As for Queen Caroline, who had remained behind in Naples, that city, in spite of her admirable administration,

soon grew too hot for her. Seeing that the game was lost, she summoned a council, and the result was that after communicating with Captain Campbell, she was taken on board the 'Tremendous' and bore away for Trieste. Curiously enough, on her way to that port the ship in which she sailed passed and saluted an English squadron bringing back King Ferdinand, who was about to reascend the throne from which her brother had driven him. The ex-queen was not suffered to remain at Trieste, but was allowed to take up her residence in the vicinity of Vienna, where she assumed the title of Countess of Lipona (the anagram of Napoli). While there she took up a paper one morning and learned that her husband had made a foolhardy attempt to regain his crown, that he had been captured, tried by court-martial, and shot. Her Majesty afterwards consoled herself by privately marrying General Macdonald, who had served on the staff of the King of Naples, and who had accompanied her in her exile.

When the Emperor heard, out at St. Helena, of the catastrophe which had overtaken his brother-in-law, he exclaimed, 'the Calabrians were more humane and generous than those who sent me here.' However, one of the first things which Murat did upon being taken prisoner was to ask to be conveyed on board a British vessel. He would have infinitely preferred the 'Bellerophon' to the summary execution that awaited him. However, he died with courage, and was shot with the portrait of his wife hanging round his neck. His attempt to regain his throne was an act of singular temerity, and Napoleon could only suppose that Murat was bitten with the mania of imi-

tating him. But, as he observed, there was a vast difference between his disembarkment in France and that of Murat in Calabria. He had been elected by the people, and was the legitimate representative of their new doctrines. Murat had never been elected, he had been imposed; he was not a Neapolitan, and Napoleon hinted that Ferdinand of Naples could hardly have acted otherwise than he did in treating the ex-king as an insurgent. What business had the satellites to attempt to shine after the great luminary to which they owed their light had disappeared?

We catch one more glimpse of the Countess of Lipona before she died. In 1838 she revisited Paris to press some claims on the Government. King Ferdinand, on landing, had seized all her private property at Naples, and had reduced her to very straitened circumstances. With Louis Philippe on the throne, and with the author of the 'Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire' for his minister, she flattered herself that she might make good her title to certain private property which had been seized by the Bourbons and had become national. The matter was arranged by the Chambers voting her a pension of 4,000*l.* a year. The King's Government said it saw with regret the misfortunes of the Countess of Lipona; it took into consideration that she had been raised to the throne by the armies of France, and that she was the sister of the Emperor Napoleon. In their opinion these motives justified the bill they had the honour to present.

The moment was certainly well chosen. The constitutional monarchy had replaced the statue of Napoleon on the top of the Vendôme column from

whence it had been dragged by the Bourbons; the Arc de Triomphe had just been completed and inaugurated; the Chambers were about to vote a first credit of 40,000*l.* for the erection of a tomb for Napoleon in the Invalides, 'on the banks of the Seine and in the midst of that French people he loved so much,' and a demand was about to be addressed to England for the ashes of the great warrior.

As for the Countess of Lipona, she only lived a year to enjoy her pension.

The Murats had three children—two sons and a daughter. The eldest son, Napoleon Achille Charles Louis Murat, who was born in Paris in 1801, never enjoyed good health, which is attributed to the fact of his mother, just before his birth, having been much terrified by the attempt to blow up the First Consul in the Rue St. Nicaise. Strange to say, when his father was shot he was living at Frohsdorf, now the residence of the Comte de Chambord. After that painful event he went to Florida, where he married the grand-niece of Washington. He wrote several commendable works about America and her institutions, and died in 1847, leaving no children.

The second son, Napoleon Lucien Charles Murat, who was born at Milan in 1803, resided in Venice after the fall of the Empire, and afterwards joined his uncle Joseph in America and married a Miss Fraser. In 1848 he returned to France, and supported the policy of his cousin Louis Napoleon. He was returned as a member for the Seine and Lot, and was sent on a mission to Turin. When King Bomba was driven from Naples he issued a manifesto, but the French Government refused to back up his claims to

the throne of Naples. The hour had not yet arrived for delivering Italy from the Bourbon and Austrian yoke. Prince Lucien Murat left five children, two of whom were well known under the second Empire—the Princess Anna, who married the Duc de Mouchy, of the house of Noailles; and the Prince Achille, a brilliant and rather wild young cavalry officer who married the Princess Dadiani of Mingrelia.

XIV.

THE BEAUHARNAIS.

SEVERAL of the Beauharnais entered by marriage or adoption into the Bonaparte or Napoleon family; some were married by order of the Emperor, and others entered his service. Josephine de Beauharnais married Napoleon; her daughter Hortense married Louis Bonaparte; and her son Eugène, and her niece Stephanie, were both adopted. We propose to give a brief sketch of this family, which became merged into that of the Bonapartes.

In the first place, there was the old Marquis de Beauharnais, whose acquaintance we have already made, who was governor of Martinique under the ancient régime, who returned to France when threescore years and ten, and who at that advanced age took for third wife Josephine's aunt, Madame de Renaudin, a lady who had formerly stood godmother to the marquis's second son Alexander, who afterwards married Josephine. The venerable father-in-law of Josephine gave his heart and hand to her venerable aunt the same year that she bestowed herself on Napoleon Bonaparte.

The marquis by his first wife had two sons, Francis, born in 1756, who succeeded him, and who died in 1823. We first hear of him sitting as a deputy for the *noblesse* in the Assembly at Versailles,

and opposing a motion brought forward by his brother Alexander, tending to deprive the king of the command of the army. He also opposed a proposition to the effect that no amendments could be voted with honour, and thus earned the nickname of *Féal Beauharnais sans amendement.* He afterwards fought against the Revolution in the ranks of the *émigrés*, serving in the army of Condé; and some years later, when Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power, he called on him to cede his place to Louis XVIII. In the end the 'loyal Beauharnais' accepted the new order of things, and served the 'usurper' in a diplomatic capacity. We have seen him in Spain acting as French ambassador during the Charlotte Bonaparte business, and have also seen how his daughter, Emilie de Beauharnais, was married to the Comte de Lavalette, and why, according to the Duchess d'Abrantes, Louis Bonaparte was not allowed to wed that lady. The marquis on his return from Madrid fell into disgrace with his Imperial master, who ordered, as the story goes, that he should be exiled to Poland (Pologne). Fortunately for the marquis the destination was not very legibly written, and he repaired to Sologne in France, where he happened to possess some property. The Emperor was highly amused when he learned the error which had been committed, and did not insist upon its rectification. In this way Josephine's brother-in-law, for whom she never had much sympathy, was spared the mortification of being driven from France. He returned to Paris in 1814, was well received by the Bourbons, and was made a peer. By his second wife, the marquis had another daughter, who married first the

Comte de Querelles, and then M. Laity, who was attached to the household of Napoleon III.

The second son of the old Marquis de Beauharnais was the Viscount Alexander, who on the outbreak of the Revolution adhered to its immortal principles, and lost his head.

There was another Beauharnais, the uncle of Francis and Alexander, who married Marie Anne Françoise Mouchard, afterwards well known in literary circles as Fanny de Beauharnais, a lady who had the honour of corresponding with Voltaire, but whose merits as an authoress were vigorously contested in many quarters. If not very successful as a poetess, she was at all events a very amiable and engaging woman, who had the gift of attracting good company and men of talent to her house, and who delighted in the society of the literary celebrities of the day. A gentleman named Cubières is said not only to have composed her verses, to have saved her from the guillotine during the Reign of Terror, but also to have been the cause of her separation from her husband. Her name will go down to posterity in connection with the malicious distich of Lebrun :

> Eglé, belle et poète, a deux petits travers :
> Elle fait son visage, et ne fait point ses vers.

Thus translated by Byron :

> Eglé, beauty and poet, has two little crimes ;
> She makes her own face, and does not make her rhymes.

It is true that another poet wrote of her :

> On vantera ses grâces, son esprit,
> De ses talents la touchante harmonie.
> Pendant trente ans, c'est elle qui m'apprit
> Que la bonté possède le génie.

Fanny de Beauharnais was the mother of Comte Claude de Beauharnais, who married, first, the daughter of the Comte de Marnézie, and had issue Stephanie de Beauharnais; and secondly, Mdlle. Fortin, the daughter of a merchant of Nantes, who bore him Josephine Désirée, who married the Marquis de Beaujeu, who traced his nobility back to the days of Clovis. Of Stephanie de Beauharnais we shall speak anon.

The most prominent of the Beauharnais family was undoubtedly Eugène, the son of Alexander and Josephine, who, like his uncle, was regarded as the type of fidelity. He was born on September 3, 1781. Brought up in France, he did not, like his sister Hortense, accompany his mother to Martinique when she was separated from her husband and found it necessary to return home. He was fourteen years of age when his ill-fated father was sent to the guillotine, and that tragic event, the imprisonment of his mother, and subsequent hardships, gave his character a premature tinge of gloom which was never completely dissipated. During the Reign of Terror, Eugène de Beauharnais was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker, not only to earn a living, but to prevent him from being persecuted as an aristocrat. We have already referred to the dubious account of his going to see Napoleon, when Paris was being disarmed, in order to demand the sword of his father, of the tears he is supposed to have shed at the sight of that weapon, the caresses with which the usually reserved and taciturn young general is reported to have overwhelmed the sensitive lad, and the result of this slightly theatrical performance, which bears so striking a resemblance to many other episodes due to the inventive genius of Napo-

leon. In 1796 Eugène joined the Guides, but being too young to accompany his step-father when he left Paris directly after his marriage to assume the command of the army of Italy, was placed under the tutelage of that gallant and virtuous soldier Marshal Bessières. It was only after the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben that he joined the staff and commenced his active career. It is a rather singular fact that Bonaparte, in recommending Eugène for this appointment, should have said in his letter to the War Minister, that he was the son of 'that General de Beauharnais *whose death everyone regretted*;' a curious expression as coming from the man who married the general's widow. Eugène afterwards went with Napoleon to Egypt, where owing to his boyish appearance he was nicknamed 'Cherubin,' and where he received his first, and also his last wound, though he subsequently saw a great deal of hard service. Eugène, according to his brother aide-de-camp, the Comte de Lavalette, was hurt by a wall knocked down by an English shell falling upon him. This was at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, which lasted sixty-two days. Riding along with Bonaparte on the fiftieth day, relates the count, the general said it was most unfortunate that he could not send an officer into the trenches without his being killed. 'I have not the heart,' he added, 'to send poor Eugène, who knows nothing of life, who has not tasted its happiness, and who is full of hopes and illusions. It would be different with you; you know what life is, and would lose it without regret.' (?) It is probable that when Napoleon made this strange remark to the soldier whom he had so recently married to the lovely

Emilie de Beauharnais, he was ruminating over the stories told him by Junot and his own domestic woes, and, maddened by jealousy, half wished himself dead.

At a very early date Napoleon indulged in matrimonial schemes with respect to his step-son. In 1803 he conceived the idea of forming an alliance with the Talleyrand-Périgords, and overtures were made to Archambault de Périgord for the hand of his daughter; but the Comte Juste de Noailles was preferred to Eugène de Beauharnais. Talleyrand, who had no doubt suggested this match, complained bitterly of his family having failed to enter into his projects, and his brother Archambault was sent into exile, ostensibly for having indulged in that caustic wit so common to his kith and kin; but no doubt for having rejected the proffered alliance. Josephine is said to have been very favourable to this union, which she no doubt supposed would have secured the support of a powerful minister.

A couple of years afterwards Napoleon thought for a time of marrying Eugène to the unfortunate Queen of Etruria, whose hand and whose states he treated as marketable commodities over which he had unlimited control. He had, not long before, without her Majesty's knowledge, offered her hand to his brother Lucien; Lucien refused, and the Emperor soon changed his mind as regarded Eugène.

In 1805 we find Napoleon deeply smitten with the charms of Madame Duchatel, and exceedingly jealous of his step-son, who, Josephine aiding, had managed to attract the attention of that lady. The Emperor had no difficulty in getting rid of his rival,

who received orders to march with his regiment of Guides for Italy. It was in the depth of winter; the weather was excessively severe, no military operations were going on, and there was no other necessity for this movement of troops than that of getting the gallant young colonel out of the way. Eugène was to leave Paris within twenty-four hours. His mother wished to remonstrate, but he easily persuaded her that any interference upon her part, or hesitation on his, would be highly impolitic. By obeying at once without a murmur, Eugène was convinced that Napoleon would mentally contrast his conduct with the insubordination of his own brothers, and that if he lost Madame Duchatel, he would at all events gain in the Imperial favour. Eugène marched punctually, and he was just riding into Lyons at the head of his regiment in a heavy snowstorm, when an aide-de-camp galloped up to him with a despatch from which he learned that he had been raised to the dignity of archchancellor of France. This nomination was announced to the Senate by Napoleon in the following terms: 'Amid all the cares and disappointments inseparable from the high rank in which we are placed, our heart has found it necessary to seek for consolation in the affection of this child of our adoption; consolation no doubt necessary to everyone, but more especially to us whose whole time is devoted to the affairs of the nation [not a word about Madame Duchatel]. Our paternal benediction will accompany this young prince throughout his career, and seconded by Providence, he will one day be entitled to the approbation of posterity.' This message, be it observed, was written at a moment when Napoleon was

highly irritated with all his brothers, and when he seriously thought of cutting Joseph and Louis off from the succession, as he had already cut off Lucien and Jerome.

At the commencement of 1805 the French Emperor assumed the title of King of Italy, was crowned at Milan, and made Eugène de Beauharnais, whom he adopted, and who thenceforth became Eugène Napoleon, his viceroy. The same year he gained the victories of Ulm and of Austerlitz, which rendered him the undisputed master of the Continent. These successes were followed by a grand redistribution of territory, and the Electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, members of the Confederation of the Rhine, were made kings. It suddenly occurred to Napoleon to marry Eugène to the daughter of the King of Bavaria, and according to Madame de Rémusat, his newly created Majesty was highly delighted at the prospect of this match. The fact is, that before the Austerlitz campaign the electors had turned a deaf ear to the matrimonial proposals made by Napoleon. The Elector of Bavaria was about to marry his daughter to the son of the Elector of Baden, and the Elector of Wurtemberg showed little or no inclination to give the hand of his daughter to Jerome Bonaparte. Napoleon changed all this. The victory of Austerlitz brought the electors to their knees, and they were only too glad to be able to purchase the safety of their states by consenting to matrimonial alliances. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden were all drawn into the Imperial fold, and Saxony had a narrow escape.

After having arranged matters with Austria and

Russia, the Emperor and Empress repaired to the Bavarian capital, and from thence Josephine wrote the following letter to Hortense, who was then in Paris :

Munich : year XIV.

Here I am at Munich. I have received your letter, and am much surprised at the rumours of which you speak. If there were any question of your brother being married you are surely the first person to whom I should have confided the news. . . . You must be aware that the Emperor, who has never said anything to me on the subject, would not marry Eugène without my knowledge. . . . I approve of the conduct of Stephanie, who does well to wait and see what the Emperor intends deciding for her. I leave to him the care of establishing my family.

A few days later the viceroy, who was on a tour of inspection at Venice, received the following characteristic missive:

Munich : December 31, 1805.

My Cousin,[1]—I have arrived at Munich, and have arranged your marriage with the Princess Augusta. The banns have been published. This morning the princess, who is very pretty, paid me a visit, and we had a long conversation. You will find her portrait on the accompanying teacup; but she is much better looking.

NAPOLEON.

On January 6 his Majesty announced the marriage of Eugène to the wife of his brother Joseph in these terms :—

Madame, my Sister-in-law,—I have long decided on the marriage of my son Prince Eugène with the Princess Augusta, the daughter of the King of Bavaria. The Elector of Ratisbon, archchancellor of the Empire, will marry them

[1] As viceroy Prince Eugene was the cousin of the Emperor, as the son of Josephine his step-son, and he was his son by adoption.

on the 15th at Munich, and this detains me here. The Princess Augusta is one of the prettiest and most perfect of her sex. I think it would be only right for you to make her a present worth from 15,000 to 20,000 francs. She will leave for Italy on the 20th.

NAPOLEON.

This same alliance was thus announced to the Senate:

Senators,—Peace has been concluded at Presburg. I desired to announce the conditions to you myself in person, but having long arranged with the King of Bavaria for the marriage of my son Prince Eugène with the Princess Augusta his daughter, and being at Munich, I cannot resist the pleasure of myself uniting the youthful pair, who are perfect models. . . . The marriage will take place on January 15. My arrival in the midst of my people will therefore be delayed for some days. Those days will appear long to my heart, but after having been unceasingly engaged in the duties of a soldier, I find a pleasing relaxation in occupying myself with the details and the duties of the father of a family, &c.

It would be difficult to say why Napoleon should have insisted upon declaring that he had long determined on this marriage, when there is abundance of proof to show the contrary. It was impossible for him to perform the slightest action without resorting to some kind of deception, either before or after execution.

Not satisfied with having taken advantage of his position, with having packed Eugène off from Fontainebleau in the depth of winter, and with arranging his marriage without consulting him, Napoleon while at Munich amused himself by flirting with the future mother-in-law of the viceroy. The Queen of Bavaria

(the king's second wife), however, kept his Majesty at a respectful distance, although somewhat amused and no doubt flattered by his homage.

A couple of days after the marriage, which was celebrated with great pomp, the Emperor wrote a most affectionate epistle to his daughter-in-law, in which he said: 'Believe me, Augusta, that I love you like a father, and I trust you will have for me all the tenderness of a daughter.' And the fact is that the Princess Augusta, through good and evil fortune, remained one of the most staunch of Napoleon's supporters.

A few months later we find his Majesty writing the following curious letter to his adopted son from St. Cloud; a letter which, as far as meddling with the *res angusta domi* goes, resembles a certain comminatory epistle addressed to the unfortunate Louis of Holland:

My Son,—You work too much and your life is monotonous. This is not good for you because work should be a relaxation. Then you have a young wife who is *enceinte*. I think you should manage to pass the evening with her, and to see a little society. Why don't you go to the theatre once a week, and occupy the state box? I am of opinion that you should keep hounds and hunt at least once a week. I will willingly advance money for this purpose. You must make your house gay; this is necessary for the happiness of your wife and for your own health. I lead the same sort of existence as you do, but then I have an old wife who can amuse herself; I have also more work to do; and yet to tell the truth I am fonder of dissipation than you are. A young wife requires to be amused, especially in the situation in which yours finds herself. Formerly you liked pleasure; you must return to your old tastes. I have just settled

down at St. Cloud. Stephanie and the Prince of Baden love each other well enough. I passed a few days with Marshal Bessières. We played together like children of fifteen. You used to rise early; you should resume that custom. It will not disturb the arrangements of the princess if you go to bed at eleven o'clock. If you get through your business by six in the evening you will have ten hours for working provided you get up at seven or eight A.M.

NAPOLEON.

M. Baudus has left us an account of the visit which Napoleon, with a numerous suite, paid Marshal Bessières at his château of Grignon. He was accompanied by the King of Bavaria, his sisters, the Queens of Holland and of Naples, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Duchesses of Bassano and Cassano, Madame de Broc, Madame de Mackaw, the Prince and Princess Aldobrandini Borghese, Marshals Berthier, Duroc, Moncey, Lauriston, and Davoust. The first evening his Majesty omitted to invite the Duchess d'Istrie (Madame Bessières) to dinner, and the next day he was exceedingly rude to her because she kept him waiting for a piece of ribbon when he wanted to play at *furet le bois joli*, or hunt the ring. At a ball given in his honour, he said to the King of Bavaria, who was then fifty-five years of age, and corpulent, '*Roi de Bavière, dansez*,' and his Majesty danced as best he could. Davoust had also to perform, as well as the Duchess de Cassano, who had not trod a measure for thirty years. The day afterwards Napoleon made a violent attack on Mississippi Law, who had built Grignon, and this in presence of Marshal Lauriston, the direct descendant of the great speculator.

The Bavarian marriage turned out extremely well

for all parties; Eugène forgot his ephemeral passion for Madame Duchatel; the Princess Augusta forgot the Prince of Baden, to whom she had been betrothed, and who was now desperately in love with Stephanie de Beauharnais, and it is doubtful if Napoleon had ever just reason to complain of the conduct of the viceroy or of that of the wife he had given him. Prince Eugène exhibited very fair military talents upon several occasions. It is true that when pressed by Austria, in 1808, the Emperor had to send Marshal Macdonald to repair his errors. On this occasion his Majesty wrote to him saying: 'I see with pain that you have no notion of war. I ought to have sent Massena to you, and have given you the command of the cavalry under his orders. In giving you the command of an army I committed a mistake. I know that in Italy you affect to despise Massena, but if I had sent him, what has happened would never have occurred. Massena has military talents before which one must bow down. I cannot conceive how my troops were beaten by the Austrian rabble.' In the end Macdonald, and not Massena, was sent to the rescue. Prince Eugène, however, if sometimes at fault, was to be depended upon in great emergencies. He showed the same unswerving fidelity, and fought with the same spirit, when defending Italy against Murat in 1814, as he did at Marengo in 1800.

On February 22, 1811, when that fatal Russian campaign was being planned, the viceroy wrote the following letter, which sufficiently revealed his inmost feelings:

My good friend Lavalette,—My fate is decided; I am to have a superb command—from 70,000 to 80,000 men,

and 200 guns. One thing, however, does not make me laugh, to wit, the idea of being established in Poland. I could not exist at such a distance from the Emperor. My sole ambition is to live and to die near him, an ambition which is quite as good as any other, for I care not for thrones.

And certainly all through his career Prince Eugène exhibited the greatest amount of deference and affection for Napoleon, and none of that inordinate ambition which distinguished the Bonapartes. He behaved not only with gallantry but skill during the retreat from Moscow, when after the departure, first of the Emperor, then of the King of Naples, the chief command devolved upon him. The manner in which he managed to save the *débris* of that mighty host which staggered home from Russia and fell back behind the Elbe, elicited the warm approval even of Napoleon, and very justly so, for it was a kind of military feat never performed by the Emperor himself. Seeing the disastrous termination of the campaign, there was of course no further question of establishing Prince Eugène in Poland. When he spoke thus slightingly of thrones, he was probably alluding to his refusal to fill the throne afterwards occupied by Bernadotte. In 1810 Prince Metternich had a conversation with Napoleon on the subject of the throne of Sweden, in which he represents the Emperor as having said: 'The choice of Bernadotte is disagreeable, as it compromises my relations with Russia, and places another private individual on a throne [the other being Murat], which is damaging for crowns. The change of religion, too, is not an indifferent question, *seeing the effect it produced on the Empress*, who exclaimed, "What, the wretch has deserted his God for

a crown? None of mine would have been guilty of that." I offered the throne to the viceroy of Italy, who refused it directly.'

When clouds began to gather so thickly and darkly in 1813, we find the viceroy writing to his sister Hortense that he had received offers through the King of Bavaria (who had rather reluctantly deserted the French cause), on the part of the coalesced monarchs, who agreed to guarantee him the throne of Italy. He said this offer might have seduced anyone else, and that he had informed the Emperor of the proposition. He added: 'I cannot say how happy I am that since the declaration of the King of Bavaria against France, my wife has suspended all direct relations with her family.'

More than one writer has accused Prince Eugène of having deserted the Imperial cause at the last moment, but these accusations do not appear to repose upon any solid ground. They are at variance, too, with the whole career of the man. The fidelity of the viceroy gained him golden opinions everywhere. M. Fleury de Chaboulon, who was a good deal engaged in diplomatic negotiations by Napoleon, relates in his memoirs, how he was sent to Bâle during the Hundred Days to confer with M. Werner, an Austrian agent. The allies having determined to pull down Bonaparte, the question of his successor was discussed. M. Fleury de Chaboulon suggested the Prince Eugène, who, in one of his memorable proclamations, had said: 'Those alone are immortal who know how to live and die faithful to their duties, their gratitude, and their honour.' Napoleon himself declared that in 1814 every kind of seduction had

been employed and the most brilliant promises held out by the allies, in the hope of winning over Eugène, but all in vain. We cannot find that Napoleon himself ever censured the conduct of his adopted son. When in want of money at St. Helena, he told Las Cases that he would have no hesitation in asking his son Eugène to help him, and no doubt such an application was made, for it is stated in the memoirs of the viceroy, that he consented to allow his godfather about 10,000*l.* a year.

That the allies should have contemplated for a moment setting up Eugène de Beauharnais in the place of Napoleon is not astonishing. The Austrian faction was intensely hostile to the Bourbons, owing to their preponderance in Italy. In addition to the high respect entertained by the allies for the unblemished character of Prince Eugène, it was felt that to establish for the second time on the throne of France a dynasty which had forgotten nothing and had learned nothing, would be tempting Providence. It was generally admitted that the views of the Bourbons were thoroughly at variance with the new ideas, that there could be but a short truce between them and their people, and that their restoration would in all probability lead to fresh complications, if not to another Revolution, with all its attendant dangers to European order. However, in the end the cause of the Bourbons triumphed; they soon reigned once more in France, Italy, Naples, and Spain, and the Bonapartes who had usurped their thrones, and who had unquestionably governed more wisely and more humanely than their predecessors, vanished from the scene.

The following is a brief summary of what happened in 1814, during the invasion of France by the allies. On February 8 Prince Eugène defeated the Austrians on the Mincio, and immediately sent Captain Tascher with news of the victory to the Emperor. Before receiving this despatch Napoleon, who found himself hard pressed, had sent orders to the viceroy to evacuate Italy in case of Murat's defection. In the event of the King of Naples declaring war against France, Prince Eugène was to fall back upon Lyons. Not only was the War Minister directed to forward him these instructions, but Napoleon wrote himself, charging Josephine and Hortense to write to him in a similar sense. The Emperor said :

My Son,—You will see by different public documents the efforts I have made to conclude peace. The Duc d'Otrante (Fouché) will have informed you that the King of Naples takes part with the enemy. As soon as you receive the official news, it will be important for you to gain the Alps, leaving Italians to garrison Mantua &c., and taking care not to leave behind you the plate and other valuable property belonging to the household.

Josephine wrote :

Do not lose an instant, my dear Eugène ; no matter what the obstacles, redouble your efforts to carry out the orders of the Emperor, who has just written to me on the subject. His intention is, that you fall back upon the Alps, leaving only Italian troops in Mantua and the other fortresses. His letter concludes thus : 'France before everything. France has need of all her children.' Hasten hither, my dear son, and never will your zeal have better served the Emperor. I can assure you that each instant is precious. I know that your wife is about to leave Milan. Tell me if I can be of any use to her. Adieu, my dear

Eugène, I have only the time to embrace you and to repeat 'Come quickly.'

The Queen Hortense wrote in a much calmer strain than her mother. She told Eugène that everything would be decided in the course of a few days; that the best thing he could do would be to follow his own judgment, and to act as best he could to serve the Emperor. As for falling back upon Lyons, she said Napoleon only expected him to re-enter France in case Murat declared against him. Altogether, however, she was rather puzzled to know what his Majesty's wishes really were.

After hearing of the success gained by Eugène on the Mincio, the War Minister wrote a sharp despatch to the viceroy calling upon him to execute the Emperor's orders at once. To letters and despatch Eugène replied on February 18, thus:

Sire,—I have received a letter from the Empress Josephine, reproaching me with not having promptly executed the orders transmitted by the Duc de Feltre. Your Majesty seems to think that I need more than my devotion towards your person, and my love of my country, to excite me to fall back upon France under present circumstances. Your Majesty must pardon me if I tell you that I have not deserved these reproaches, nor the little confidence you have in sentiments which will always most powerfully influence my actions. Your Majesty's orders expressly stated that I was to retreat on the Alps should Murat declare war. This order was conditional, and I should have been culpable had I executed it before the condition was fulfilled.

The viceroy added that he had taken the necessary steps for retreating, should the King of Naples make up his mind and show himself a traitor. 'Up to

the present,' he continued, 'Murat has refused to co-operate with the Austrians, and only two days ago he informed me it was not his intention to act against your Majesty.'

To Josephine the viceroy wrote:

My good Mother,—I received your letter of the 9th, on returning from an expedition during which I beat the Austrians. It perfectly astonished me. I have replied to the Emperor. I did not expect, after such a length of time, o be obliged to give the Emperor proofs of my fidelity and devotion.

After saying he had been left for three months without any orders, and had then only received the conditional one above mentioned, he continued, 'What I can swear to you, my dear mother, is, that there will never be anything tortuous in the conduct of your son.'

The news of successes gained by Napoleon in France, and of Eugène's triumph over the Austrians, rendered Murat more undecided than ever. He had concluded a treaty with the allies, but had not ratified it; he was waiting to see for which side victory would declare itself. His great object was to remain King of Naples. During the retreat from Moscow he had confided this fact to Marshal Ney, who had naturally repeated it to the Emperor, and after Leipsic Napoleon had very little doubt with regard to the intentions of his brother-in-law.

Matters having suddenly brightened in France, and the Emperor having beaten the allies at Champaubert and Montmirail, Captain Tascher was sent back to Eugène with formal orders *not to evacuate Italy*. The Emperor wrote to his adopted son:

I have destroyed the army of Silesia, composed of Russians and Prussians, and yesterday I commenced beating Schwartzenberg. In four days I have made between 30 and 40,000 prisoners—20 generals, 600 officers—and captured 200 guns, &c., &c. It is possible, should fortune continue to smile, that we may drive the enemy in disorder beyond the frontiers, *and we shall then be able to keep Italy.* In this event the King of Naples will probably change his tactics.

The next day the Emperor wrote another letter to Eugène, saying:

My Son,—It is necessary that the vice-queen should come to Paris without delay, in order to be confined, my intention being that in no case shall she remain in territory occupied by the enemy. See that she starts immediately. I have sent you Tascher, who will tell you how things were going here when he left. I have since beaten Wittgenstein at Nangis, taking 4,000 Russian prisoners, with flags and guns, &c.

According to Captain Tascher the last words Napoleon addressed to him were these:

Tell Eugène that I order him to keep Italy as long as he can, and not to trouble himself about the Neapolitan army, which is composed of bad soldiers, and of the King of Naples, who is a madman. . . . Tell Eugène that I am satisfied with him and with the army of Italy. Let him fire 100 guns in honour of the victories of Champaubert and Montmirail. . . . At Turin you will tell the Prince of Borghese to countermand the evacuation of Tuscany.

It would be difficult, after due consideration of the above facts, to suppose that there was either treason or negligence on the part of the viceroy, or that he had any intention of sacrificing Napoleon in the interests of his personal ambition. The Emperor, like

the rest of his family, was exceedingly suspicious, and the bad faith with which he invariably acted himself naturally augmented this tendency to distrust others. That he doubted the viceroy for a moment is certain from his correspondence, but that he had any just reasons for entertaining these doubts is more than problematical.

The letter of February 19, on the subject of the Princess Augusta going to Paris for her confinement, greatly nettled the viceroy. It had been called forth under the following circumstances. When Prince Eugène had been obliged to fall back on the Mincio, and did not know where he would be able to stop the Austrians, he had written to Marshal Bellegarde to demand an authorisation (in case of necessity) for his wife to remain at Milan for her confinement, and to be allowed to rejoin him afterwards. The Austrian commander had hastened to grant this request, and afterwards forwarded the following letter from the Emperor of Austria to the Princess Augusta, dated from Troyes, in Champagne:

Madame, my Cousin,—Marshal Bellegarde having acquainted me with your determination to remain momentarily at the château of Monza, I beg to assure your Imperial Highness that this general has perfectly acted up to my intentions. I have given orders for the formation of a guard of honour for your Imperial Highness, who will enjoy the most entire liberty in all things, and I only regret, Madame, the motives which force you to come to a determination which, under other circumstances, I should consider extremely flattering. I beg you, &c. &c.

FRANCIS.

In a letter to the Queen Hortense, the Princess

Augusta poured forth a torrent of grief and indignation at the unjust suspicions of the Emperor. Prince Eugène was daily exposing his life in his service; had he wished for the kingdom of Italy he might have had it. Although the doctors said she would be risking her life, she would ask her husband's permission to leave Italy. To her husband she wrote:

I am highly indignant, and feel no longer astonished that people abandon the Emperor. Was anyone ever more ungrateful? . . . It is clear that the family of the Emperor, and perhaps the Emperor himself, are jealous of you.[1] The King of Naples will be pardoned for his treason, but you will never be pardoned for the reputation and esteem you enjoy. I know not where all this will end, but it is sure our lot will never be fixed as long as it depends on the Emperor. This certitude, however, should not hinder us from following the path of virtue and honour to the end of our lives. . . . Were I to fall into the hands of the enemy, they could not treat me worse than the Emperor, who has plunged a dagger into my heart. Do not fear telling me to start. If I could go with you to America I would willingly do so, for I am disgusted with the grandeur of the world, &c.

In reply to indignant protestations on the part of Eugène, and of his wife, who had determined to go to Mantua, and shut herself up in that fortified town with her husband, Napoleon wrote:

Soissons: March 12, 1814.

My Daughter,—I have received your letter, and as I am aware of the sensitiveness of your heart and the vivacity of your mind, I am not astonished at the manner in which you have been impressed. My opinion was that, with your

[1] Prince Eugène on one occasion assured his mother that Napoleon was so jealous of the affection he had inspired, that he obliged him to impose oppressive measures in order to alienate the goodwill of the Italians.

temperament, you would have a bad confinement in a country which is the theatre of a war, and in the midst of enemies, and that the best thing for your security was to get you to come to Paris. I could not write sooner because Paris was threatened, and there would have been no advantage in removing you from the dangers of Milan to those of the French capital. But as soon as danger had passed, I thought that the journey to Paris would offer numerous advantages. Admit your injustice, and I leave it to your heart to punish you.

His Majesty evidently regretted the tone he had assumed in a moment of distrust and discouragement. To Prince Eugène he replied: 'You must have lost your head. You must be mad to suppose my letter had anything to do with politics. I never change my style, and I wrote to you as I always write,' &c. Before leaving Milan, the princess received the following note from her husband:

Mantua: March 26, 1814.

Nothing new here. Bellegarde is still at Verona, and the King of Naples at Reggio. This morning I handed over the Pope [who had just been released from Fontainebleau] to the outposts of Parma. This will not amuse the King of Naples, whose ambition was to lay hands on all Italy.

No mention is made of a receipt such as that given for Pius VI.—'Received a Pope in a very dilapidated condition.'

In the end the Princess Augusta was brought to bed at Mantua with a princess, whose first screams, we are told, were covered by the artillery of Marshal Bellegarde celebrating the capitulation of Paris. In his turn Prince Eugène capitulated, and was allowed most honourable terms.

As soon as the abdication of Fontainebleau was signed, the King of Bavaria wrote in the most generous strain to the viceroy, saying:

My well-beloved Son,—Up to the present I have only approved, my dear friend, of the loyalty of your conduct; I will say more, it has rendered me proud to have such a son. But now all is changed, and you can give up the game without dishonour. Remember you have a wife and children. . . . The allies are all well inclined towards you, and I hope you will take advantage of their goodwill, &c. &c. Your good father,

MAX JOSEPH.

Two or three days after the receipt of this letter, which did honour to the king who wrote it and the prince to whom it was addressed, the viceroy received orders from the new War Minister, the General Dupont who had capitulated at Baylen, commencing thus: 'Monseigneur,—Your Highness must be aware of the great events which have replaced the Bourbon family on the throne of France;' and, hostilities being suspended, 'Monseigneur' was directed to conclude an armistice with Marshal Bellegarde. A month later the viceroy was instructed to fall back upon Lyons, and his career in Italy came to an end.

The position and character of Prince Eugène inspired the greatest sympathy at the congress of Vienna, and many propositions were started with the view of compensating him for the loss of his viceroyalty. They all fell through and he retired to Bavaria, where he received first the title of Duke of Leuchtenberg, and afterwards that of Prince of Eichstadt, which placed him on an equality with his wife. He revisited France when Josephine died, but he could not be

induced to take service under the Bourbons. It is related that during a short stay in Paris he considered it only right to pay his respects to Louis XVIII., and to thank that monarch for an act of courtesy; and that on being announced as the Marquis de Beauharnais, the king said—'Show in the Prince Eugène.' The king offered to make the prince a marshal, but he declined, and went back to Munich.

Prince Eugène played no part in the 'Hundred Days.' From what he had seen at Vienna he was probably convinced that the return of Napoleon could lead only to an useless effusion of blood. Then he had pledged his word to the Czar not to throw his sword into the scale, and M. de Beausset assures us that had he attempted to break his word he would have been arrested.

He watched the final struggle of the Emperor with painful interest, and refrained from imitating either Bernadotte or Murat. After Waterloo he exerted all his influence in behalf of the fallen Emperor and of France, and when the exaggerated accounts of Napoleon's ill-treatment at St. Helena reached Europe, he made a most touching and pressing appeal to Alexander in favour of the suffering Titan.

It is said that Prince Eugène, when he retired to Munich, had amassed a fortune amounting to no less than 240,000*l.* a year, including his wife's dowry and what Josephine left him. If this be true he must have managed to squeeze nearly the whole of this sum out of Italy during a viceroyalty which lasted only eight years. Napoleon in his will mentioned some 40,000,000 francs which he had a right to claim from his godson, and when the affairs of Europe were settled

in 1815, we find the Austrian Government consenting to pay the ex-viceroy over 100,000*l.*, sooner than allow him to retain property which he had acquired in Italy.

In October 1758 Marshal Keith fell at the battle of Hochkirck, and had honourable soldier's burial there, "far from bonnie Inverugie." 'My brother leaves me a noble legacy,' wrote the old Lord Marischal. 'Last year he had Bohemia under ransom, and his personal estate is seventy ducats.' What a contrast with the rapacity of Napoleon and his lieutenants!

However, Prince Eugène made an exemplary husband, and never did union bring greater domestic felicity than that formed so hastily after the battle of Austerlitz. The last letter which we find addressed to the Princess Augusta, in the memoirs of Prince Eugène, is dated January 14, 1814, and was written while the viceroy was manœuvring against the Austrians on the Mincio. It runs thus:

I need only think of to-day, my dear Augusta, to feel sure that Providence watches over me. What happiness and what charms do I owe this 14th January, which united my destiny to that of the loveliest, the best, and most virtuous of women. Each day I experience the desire of loving you more, in order to love you as you deserve. Farewell; may we both live to celebrate our golden wedding, and, above all, may Heaven be kind enough not to take away one without the other.

Alas! this wish was not heard, and Prince Eugène survived Napoleon only three years. He was struck down by apoplexy in 1824, generally regretted, and leaving behind him six children, who all made brilliant matches. Curiously enough, when one remem-

bers the refusal Napoleon met with, and the horror his matrimonial overtures inspired at the Court of St. Petersburg, Maximilian Joseph, Eugène's eldest son, was accepted by the Czar as his son-in-law. The young prince had been sent by his uncle, the King of Bavaria, to follow some cavalry manœuvres in Russia. Received with great distinction, he returned to St. Petersburg, married the daughter of the Emperor Nicolas, and became an Imperial Highness, and the father of children who were brought up in the Greek Church as Russian subjects. One of the Leuchtenbergs was killed during the invasion of Turkey in 1878.

In 1823 Josephine, Prince Eugène's eldest daughter, married Prince Oscar Bernadotte, the son of that Désirée Clary whose hand had been demanded by Napoleon, but who married General Bernadotte. Prince Oscar afterwards sat on the throne of Sweden as Oscar I.

In 1826 Eugénie Hortense married Prince Frederick of Hohenzollern, and consequently Napoleon III. and the Prince of Hohenzollern, whose claim to the Spanish throne produced the Franco-German War of 1870, were connected by marriage. In 1829 Emilie Augusta, Prince Eugène's third daughter, was united to Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who by his first marriage with the daughter of the Emperor of Austria and the sister of Marie Louise had five children. Dom Pedro abdicated in favour of his son, and assuming the title of Duke of Braganza, gave the throne of Portugal to his eldest daughter, Dona Maria. In 1835 Augustus Charles, Prince Eugène's second son, married this queen, Dona Maria II., Da Gloria, Jeanne, Charlotte, Leopoldine, Isidore, da Cruz, Françoise Xavière,

da Paula, Micala, Gabriela, Rafaela, Louise, Gonzaga. The Queen of Portugal had in the first place been affianced to her uncle,[1] Dom Miguel, who broke his engagements and endeavoured to rob her of her throne. The English and Admiral Napier played a considerable part in settling this business. As for Augustus de Leuchtenberg, who, but for the opposition of the French Government, would have reigned in Belgium, he survived his marriage only two months, and his widow afterwards married Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg.

In 1841 Theodeline Louise, the youngest child of Prince Eugène, was united to the Count of Wurtemburg.

M. de Custine, who was present at the marriage of the Grand Duchess Maria with the Duc de Leuchtenberg, describes the bride as pure and graceful, with fair hair, blue eyes, and a delicate complexion. The expression of her face revealed, he said, an intelligent candour. M. de Custine, however, was not favourably impressed with the appearance of the bridegroom, to whom he alludes as a sub-lieutenant well put together; adding, 'in our days princes are less rare than gentlemen.' Strange to say, M. de Custine, present at this wedding with the rest of the French Embassy, wore round his neck, in 1839, a talisman which Alexander de Beauharnais had given to his mother the wife of the Comte de Custine. The count was executed shortly after his father the general, and a few

[1] It is not contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic Church for a man to marry his niece, though of course such unions are rare. Strange to say, however, Dona Maria I. of Portugal married her uncle Dom Pedro, and we have seen how the father of Emilie de Beauharnais married his niece.

days later Madame de Custine was arrested and thrown into the Carmelites. The story goes that when Alexander de Beauharnais left his prison for the scaffold, he gave the countess, with whom he had fallen in love, an Arab talisman—which did him no good—instead of sending it to Josephine. The last letters of General de Beauharnais lead one to suspect that this was mere gossip, at least as far as falling in love was concerned.

Never, perhaps, did any family make such brilliant matches since Mazarin married his nieces to the Prince de Conti, the Duke of Modena, the Constable Colonna, the Duc de Mercœur, the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc de la Meilleraye, and the Comte de Soissons, of the House of Savoy.

XV.

STEPHANIE.

STEPHANIE LOUISE ADRIENNE DE BEAUHARNAIS was the daughter of the Comte Claude de Beauharnais by his first marriage with Mdlle. de Marnézia. After the death of her mother she was confided to the care of a rich Englishwoman, who adopted her and sent her to a convent. Josephine happening to mention this matter one day, Napoleon expressed some indignation that this girl should have been confided to an enemy of France, and a courier was at once ordered to bring her up to Paris. She was loth to leave her convent, trembled at the idea of finding herself in the presence of the First Consul, and declined to change her mode of existence. However, a second courier was despatched to Montauban, the aid of the prefect was called in, and the young Beauharnais, seized in the name of the law, was packed off to the capital. When she reached the Tuileries, Madame Bonaparte found her pretty and intelligent, with good manners; and she was immediately sent to Madame Campan's, where she had the best masters, and received the style of education usual at that place. In 1806, when seventeen years of age, she was removed from the young ladies' establishment at St. Germain to shine, as Napoleon

said, 'by her beauty, her grace, her wit, and her virtue.' Her chief personal attractions consisted in a melodious voice, fair hair, blue eyes, and a delicate complexion. Added to this she was of a lively and engaging disposition, and possessed a childish simplicity which harmonised with her appearance. The Hereditary Prince of Baden, a vulgar-looking personage with little but his rank in his favour, at that moment fell violently in love with this charming girl of seventeen, who although she had been but a few months at court, had already conceived the idea that her hand should only be bestowed on a king or a king's son, for was she not an Imperial Highness, and had not Napoleon constituted himself her father?

Stephanie de Beauharnais, demanded in marriage by the Prince of Baden, offered a resistance which highly amused the Emperor, and, if we are to believe Madame de Rémusat, his Majesty ended by taking 'such a fancy to his adopted daughter, precisely at the moment he was marrying her, that he fell publicly in love with her.' This conquest, we are assured, quite turned the head of the new princess, and rendered her more haughty and overbearing than ever towards her future husband. It might have been imagined that under these circumstances the match would have been broken off; that the Hereditary Prince would have withdrawn, and that the Emperor would no longer have insisted upon the contemplated union. This was not the case, and on March 3, 1806, the Emperor issued the following decree: 'Our intention being that the Princess Stephanie Napoleon, our daughter, shall enjoy all the prerogatives due to her rank, at receptions, at fêtes, and at table she shall be

placed beside us, and in the event of our absence she shall be placed on the right of the Empress'—a decree which was observed only as long as the passion of his Majesty lasted. On the following day the marriage was announced to the Senate, and the Princess Stephanie, who became a member of the Imperial family, took up her residence at the Tuileries, and received the great bodies of the State. Among the senators who came to pay their respects was her father the Comte de Beauharnais, who had some years previously deserted her.

This event threw the court into a dire state of confusion. The Emperor's sisters, and especially Madame Murat, could dissimulate neither their jealousy nor their hatred at the idea of Stephanie de Beauharnais taking precedence of them. The Empress was highly incensed at the turn which affairs had taken, lectured her niece, and directed her to resist the advances of Napoleon. The Emperor on his side, and according to custom, took little pains to conceal his inclinations from his wife, and seemed to think the Prince of Baden had no right to feel hurt at what was passing before his eyes. Fortunately for all parties, Napoleon, alarmed at the storm he had conjured up, and fearing a public scandal, modified his conduct, for he was not a man to sacrifice his political position for a passing caprice. It may be doubted, too, whether Stephanie de Beauharnais was guilty of anything more than levity, for she confided all that passed between the Emperor and herself to her aunt.

On April 7, 1806, the civil marriage took place in the Grand Saloon of Diana, at the Tuileries, in pre-

sence of a brilliant assemblage, and on the evening of the 8th the religious ceremony was performed in the chapel with great pomp; the Tuileries were illuminated, and there was a display of fireworks on the Place de la Concorde. The court exhibited more than its ordinary magnificence, no doubt in obedience to the orders of the Emperor. The Empress had donned a dress which is described as embroidered with different shades of gold, and she wore on her head, in addition to the Imperial crown, pearls to the value of 40,000*l.* The Princess Pauline appeared glittering in all her own diamonds and those of the family Borghese, which were without price. Madame Murat, who was doubtless sobbing with rage all the time, was decked out with a thousand rubies. Madame Louis was covered with turquoises mingled with diamonds; and Julie Bonaparte, who had just been created Queen of Naples, and who was exceedingly small and delicate, bent under the weight of precious stones. The diamonds worn by Madame Duroc are said to have been worth over 12,000*l.*; and Madames Savary, Ney, and Murat shone like lesser constellations.

As for the Princess Stephanie, who had received magnificent presents from her adopted father and from her bridegroom, she wore a circlet of diamonds surmounted by orange blossoms on her head. Her dress was of white tulle, sown with silver stars and ornamented with orange flowers. She is said to have walked to the altar, and to have made the due reverences, with an amount of grace which charmed the Emperor and everyone at the ceremony. Among the Senators present, Madame de Rémusat remarked

the father of the bride, 'who let fall some tears. He appeared to me,' she adds, 'all the time of this ceremony in a very strange position ; his emotions must have been very complicated. He had the order of Baden conferred upon him, which should have been enough to console him.' Here was a daughter he had hardly seen since her birth, and in whose well-being he had taken no interest, making a brilliant marriage, under the auspices, it is true, of an adoptive father, while he was standing in the background, and cutting hardly any figure in the gorgeous pageant.

The nuptial benediction was pronounced by the Cardinal Legate Caprara, and after the ceremony the court returned to the grand apartments ; the princes and princesses opening the march ; the Empress, having the Prince of Baden by her side, followed by all her ladies ; and the Emperor giving his hand to the bride.

This marriage was followed by rejoicings on an unlimited scale, and everyone appeared satisfied, with the exception of the parties chiefly concerned. Stephanie could not tolerate her husband, and the prince was the most unhappy and unfortunate of bridegrooms. When, after a day of fatigue, anxiety, and excitement he wished to retire, he found his wife's apartment barricaded against him, and had to pass the night in an arm-chair. These details, revealed by the pen of a waiting-maid, were doubtless unknown to the official poet who celebrated the nuptials in such flowing lines as these :

De Charles et de Stéphanie
Fêtons le Bonheur et l'Hymen ;
L'Amour, la Paix et le Génie
Pour eux se sont donné la main.

Tout leur promet, on peut m'en croire,
Des jours brillans, des jours heureux,
Puisque l'Hymen forma leurs nœuds
Sous les auspices de la Gloire.

Dans ses projets, vaste et sublime,
Le chef auguste des Français
N'a qu'un soin, qu'un vœu qui l'anime :
C'est de régner par des bienfaits,
Au sein même de la victoire
Sensible, bon, et généreux,
Ce n'est qu'en faisant des heureux
Qu'il se délasse de sa Gloire.

Jouissez de votre partage,
Enfans adoptifs d'un héros :
Votre bonheur est son ouvrage ;
Qu'il soit le prix de ses travaux.
Pour en consacrer la mémoire,
Offrez au Grand Napoléon
Et des héritiers de son nom,
Et des héritiers de sa Gloire.

What followed during the honeymoon is almost incredible. One finds the luckless husband complaining to the Empress of the conduct of his wife, and the Emperor, whose hopes revived, encouraging the princess to resist the lord and master he had himself given her before God and man. This comedy, which endured for a month, could not last for ever; and at length Napoleon, wearied by the importunities of his wife, finding that he made no real progress himself with his adopted daughter, and coming to the conclusion that he was being trifled with, consented to remove the embargo he had laid on the prince, and to allow him to depart with his wife. The princess, who still heartily disliked her husband, was greatly grieved at the idea of leaving Paris, where she had led a brief but brilliant existence, and

wept bitterly. She met with a chilly reception at Baden, and lived on such bad terms with her husband, that negotiators had to be sent from France to persuade her to change her conduct and accept her situation. Seldom did a marriage promise less felicity.

About a year after their union the Prince and Princess of Baden returned to Paris, to be present at the wedding of Jerome Bonaparte. Stephanie, prettier than ever, still treated her husband with the greatest indifference; and during the stay of the court at Fontainebleau, finding herself no longer noticed by the Emperor, flirted with his newly married brother. We have already alluded to this episode, to Jerome's wife fainting away, and to the Emperor ordering Josephine to remonstrate with her niece. At this period Napoleon was occupied with another liaison, and treated his adopted daughter with marked neglect; she was no longer accorded the rank of Imperial princess, and all the ceremonial which had so deeply offended Napoleon's sisters was changed in her case. One good result of all this was, that Stephanie returned to Baden without displeasure, allowed her husband to gain her affection, and became a true and loving wife. The first thing which appears to have sobered this princess was the divorce of her aunt Josephine, which alarmed her for her own position, and showed her that she could no longer depend on the support of the French court and the dread inspired by the name of Napoleon. There is no doubt that she became from this moment an admirable wife, and that an union which promised so badly turned out happily in the end. At the Conferences of Erfurt the Princess Stephanie was treated

with great distinction by her brother-in-law the Emperor of Russia, and with a little moderation this Baden alliance might have been of the greatest assistance to Napoleon: for the prince had three sisters; one married to the Emperor of Russia; the second to Gustavus, King of Sweden; the third to the King of Bavaria, by whom she had twin-daughters, one of whom became Queen of Prussia and the other Queen of Saxony. When Napoleon's disasters came, the Grand Duke Charles, who had succeeded his grandfather in 1811, resisted all the efforts made to induce him to repudiate a wife who his relatives said had been forced on him. Even the entreaties of his mother, who hated the Bonapartes, could not move him. He roundly declared he would never be guilty of a piece of baseness which would be repugnant both to his feelings and his honour. Napoleon recognised the worth of this prince too late. At St. Helena he admitted that justice had not been rendered to him, adding, 'he succumbed after a long and painful illness, during which the princess his wife nursed him to the last moment with a care so watchful and touching as to merit the gratitude and affection both of his relatives and his people. She embellished the exercise of sovereignty, and did honour to her character as a woman.'.. Two daughters were born of this marriage: Josephine, who married Prince Charles of Hohenzollern; and Marie, who married the late Duke of Hamilton in 1843; also a son who died in his infancy. Through the daughter of Stephanie de Beauharnais, therefore, Napoleon III. was allied to Charles of Hohenzollern (the son of the Charles mentioned above), whose acceptance of the Spanish throne

in 1870 formed the pretext for that Franco-German War which ended in Sedan, the capitulation of Paris, and the fall of the second Bonaparte dynasty.

The premature death of the infant son of the Grand Duke gave rise to all kinds of rumours, and was attributed by evil tongues to his uncle Louis Augustus William. In 1828, when Gaspard Hauser made his apparition, he was considered by many people as the missing heir, while others connected that strange individual, who has been compared to the man in the Iron Mask, with the Bonaparte family. It is certain that the mystery attending the birth and death of Gaspard Hauser has never been cleared up. When about sixteen years of age, this unfortunate youth was found wandering about the streets of Nuremberg. He was partially paralysed ; his eyes could not support the light of day, he could only give a very confused account of himself, and that in most incoherent and almost unintelligible language. He was ignorant of his domicile, of his own name and of that of the person who had reared him in a cellar, and who had finally left him at the gates of Nuremberg. A paper in his possession said he had been taught to read and write, and had been brought up as a Christian ; while a note, in Latin, revealed his name and the date of his birth. He appeared on examination to have been kept in close confinement, in perfect isolation and complete obscurity. He had no idea of night and day. His intellect was exceedingly weak, and he was patient, gentle, and obedient. The burgomaster of Nuremberg took him into his house, educated him, and endeavoured to obtain some clue to his mysterious origin. Gaspard Hauser himself could not

remember anything beyond the fact of having been taught to read and write by a person he dreaded. At first, meat threw him into convulsions, and the touch of metals had the most curious effect upon him; when asleep he was insensible to pain, and the loudest noise would not awake him. He grew two inches in the course of a few months, and presented many other curious particularities. A year after his arrival in Nuremberg he was found lying insensible in a cellar, with a deep gash in his forehead. On recovering his senses, he said an attempt had been made to assassinate him; but the opinion was, that he had attempted to commit suicide. However this may be, the ill-fated man died a violent death in 1833. No trace of the assassin was ever discovered; it was remarked that the Bavarian police took little trouble in the matter, and that the judicial documents connected with the affair were suppressed. 'The real name of Hauser,' says a French author, 'will most likely always remain an enigma. Those who guess it will remain silent, not only for want of legal proof, but in order not to cause bitter tears, which time and other consoling influences have helped to dry, to flow once more from the eyes of an eminently adorable and adored being.' This was a curious way of disposing of a crime, which was thus announced by the Burgomaster of Nuremberg:

Nuremberg: December 18, 1833.

Gaspard Hauser, my dear pupil, is no more. He died yesterday at Anspach by the hand of an assassin. The problem attached by Providence to his sad existence is now solved as far as the victim of this horrible barbarity on the part of his parents is concerned. God. in His justice, will indemnify him for those joys of infancy he never tasted, for

the vigour of youth of which he was deprived, and for life annihilated almost before it commenced. Peace to his ashes.

BINDER.

Volumes and pamphlets were written at the time respecting this mysterious person, who, taken up by Lord Stanhope, was afterwards pronounced by him to be an impostor. But the riddle has yet to be solved. The victim, whoever he was, lies buried at Nuremberg, and on his tomb is engraved the following inscription :

Hic jacet Casparus Hauser, ænigma sui temporis, ignota nativitas, occulta mors, 1833.

The Princess Stephanie revisited Paris during the second Empire, and received a warm welcome from Napoleon III. The French capital was long the favourite resort of the late and of the present Duke of Hamilton. In 1870, however, when the war between France and Germany broke out, Lord Charles Douglas served with the Germans.

XVI.

THE TASCHERS.

ALTHOUGH Josephine could never persuade her mother to come to France, this was not the case with four of her nephews and a niece, who left Martinique for Paris. The eldest Tascher appears to have soon grown weary of the French capital, and as he had no taste for a soldier's life he returned to the West Indies, where, thanks to the munificence of his aunt, he was able to live in comfort and indolence. The second Tascher served on the staff of King Joseph, married Mdlle. Clary, the queen's niece, and was killed fighting against us in the Peninsular War. The third Tascher, who also served on the staff, and whom we have seen carrying despatches backwards and forwards in 1814, between Napoleon and Prince Eugène, made a more brilliant match, marrying the daughter of the unfortunate Princess de Leyen, who was burned to death at Prince Schwarzenberg's ball. After the fall of the Empire, he followed the fortunes of Prince Eugène, and became a major-general in the Bavarian army. After the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, he returned to France, was made senator and grand master of the household of the Empress, and died at the Tuileries. The fourth Tascher was infirm, and lived with his sister.

The career of Mdlle. Tascher was more romantic

than that of her brothers. When she arrived from Martinique she was treated as if belonging to the Imperial family, and was lodged at the Tuileries. Such being the case she soon had suitors, and among these M. de Caulaincourt, and General Rapp who thought that as Paulette had been given to General Leclerc, and Caroline to Murat, he might pretend to the hand of Josephine's niece. Rapp, who had strong claims on Napoleon, having served him long and faithfully, and saved his life in Egypt, went so far as to ask the Emperor to make him governor of Martinique, knowing that Mdlle. Tascher was desirous of returning to her native island. The young lady herself seems to have given her heart to Caulaincourt. However, Napoleon had other views with respect to her. Prince Pinatelli then entered the lists, and was accepted by the Emperor and Empress; but the prince's father objected and negotiations were broken off. At one time the Emperor thought of marrying her to the Prince of Baden, and for a moment he destined her for the Prince of Asturias, but in the end a match was concluded with Prince Prosper d'Aremberg, whose family, connected with the illustrious house of Ligne, had lost all their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine by the treaty of Luneville, by which they were ceded to France. The prince, probably through policy, entered the Confederation of the Rhine, and in 1806 raised a regiment of light horse which he placed at the disposal of the Emperor. Prince Prosper came of a fighting family. One of his ancestors was wounded at Peterwardein. His great-grandfather, Leopold, though an only son, followed the profession of arms; at nineteen was wounded at Malplaquet, and

afterwards commanded the right wing of the Imperialist army at Belgrade. His grandfather fought with the Austrians in the Seven Years' War, and was present at Kolin and Hochkirchen where Frederic was repulsed, and also harassed Prince Henry. Duke Louis, his father, was despoiled, and abdicated. The niece of the Empress would therefore enter a great family, and the d'Arembergs hoped Napoleon would restore their house to its pristine grandeur, and that they would reap great benefits from the alliance. After some difficulty a match was arranged. Mdlle. Tascher seems to have consented to this union with the greatest repugnance, having conceived an antipathy for the prince which she could never overcome. Mdlle. Avrillon says that Mdlle. Tascher would never confide to anyone the reason of her deep-rooted aversion for her husband. 'While being dressed for her marriage,' she says, 'the bride was almost suffocated with tears;' that 'she marched to the altar more like a beautiful statue than a breathing woman,' and that 'the court saw the tears of the victim, but diplomacy had signed the contract.'

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at the hotel of the Queen Hortense, in presence of the whole court, the nuptial benediction being pronounced by Cardinal Fesch. There was a ball in the evening, and the Emperor danced with the bride, and when she retired, adds Mdlle. Avrillon, the Empress accompanied her home. The honeymoon was of short duration, for the prince, who had taken service in the French army, was obliged to join his regiment in Germany. 'It appears that after many fruitless efforts to gain the affection of his wife, he gave up the endeavour and accepted

the position with the best grace he could. The Emperor, however, was in no way pleased with the conduct of his niece; and on one occasion, when she refused to go to Brussels with her husband, he threatened to send her there under an escort of gendarmes. To this menace the lady replied, 'As you like, Sire! Seeing me arrive in that fashion, people will at all events know that I travelled against my will.' His Majesty is said to have contented himself with exclaiming, '*Tête de Créole!*' Fearing a scandal, he allowed matters to remain as they were, and the interference of the gendarmerie was not resorted to. Quietly separated during the Empire, Madame d'Aremberg gave her heart to the Comte de Guitry, equerry to the Empress, and as soon as the Bourbons were re-established on the throne, she took steps to have her marriage annulled, and went so far as to solicit, and not in vain, the assistance of Louis XVIII. It was not difficult to find a plausible pretext for dissolving the union, as several irregularities were committed in the performance of the ceremony. Madame d'Aremberg, not being an Imperial princess, and not having been adopted by the Emperor, was amenable to the common law. The civil marriage had not been celebrated at the town hall of the ward in which the bride resided, and the religious marriage had been performed not in the parish where the bride resided, not in a sacred edifice, not by the priest of the parish, but by Cardinal Fesch in a private house. This was more than was necessary. It might also have been urged that there was want of consent on the part of the bride, who had so reluctantly bestowed her hand on Prince Prosper. The Pope was appealed

to on the subject, and granted the necessary dispensation without the slightest hesitation, having no longer to fear the wrath of his once omnipotent friend. Released from her matrimonial bonds, Mdlle. Tascher soon afterwards became the Comtesse de Guitry. As for the Prince d'Aremberg, neither he nor his family had reaped any benefit by the temporary alliance with the Bonapartes. The prince, who was captured in Spain by the English, is said to have suffered severely on board the hulks. He fell into our clutches when one night Hill surprised Girard's corps at Arroyo del Molinos. The French upon this occasion, says Lord Londonderry, were at first inclined to doubt that a hostile force could be upon them, and were only thoroughly aroused to their situation when the bagpipes of the 71st and 92nd Highlanders struck up, 'Hey, Johnny Cope, are ye wakin' yet.' Constant, Napoleon's valet-de-chambre, relates in his memoirs how he found the prince trudging along in the snow during the terrible retreat from Moscow, and offered him a seat in his carriage; but we are at a loss to account for this fact, as it was only in 1811 that he was made a prisoner in Spain. After the dissolution of his marriage with the niece of the Empress Josephine, Prince d'Aremberg appears to have obtained the hand of a Polish lady of noble family.

We have alluded to General Rapp, a distinguished cavalry officer, who was anxious to enter the Imperial family. Although Napoleon refused him the hand of Mdlle. Tascher, he ordered him to accept that of the daughter of a wealthy banker, called Vanderberg. This union, however, turned out so badly, and the

conduct of Madame Rapp was so reprehensible, that the Emperor allowed him to demand a divorce, which was duly pronounced. A few years later the general entered for the second time into the holy state of matrimony with better success. Poor Rapp had a hard time of it; he hardly ever went into action without being wounded, and his skin is said to have been so perforated as to have resembled a piece of lace. During the battle of Moscow he received four wounds, and on leaving that city was ridden over by a squadron of Cossacks, and run through with a lance. He managed, however, to get back to France, after having his nose, an ear, and two fingers frostbitten, and was soon in the field again. He was one of the generals who, at the time of the Dresden negotiations in 1813, wished Napoleon to accept the conditions of the allies. 'I see, gentlemen,' said the insatiable Emperor, 'that you will no longer fight. There is Berthier, who would sooner be hunting at Gros Bois, and Rapp, who would like to be living in his hotel in Paris.' To which taunt Rapp replied—'I admit, Sire, the truth of what you say, the fact being that I know little of the pleasures of the capital.'

Rapp accepted service under the Bourbons, marched against Napoleon on his return from Elba, and then defended Alsace against the allies. On the second fall of the Empire he thought it prudent to retire to Switzerland; but soon pardoned by Louis XVIII., he returned to France, and was made a peer. However, it is not astonishing to find that he was unable long to enjoy the pleasures of peace and the capital, and that he died in 1821 from the effects of his many wounds.

XVII.

BERTHIER.

ONE of the most curious matches concluded by Napoleon was that between his vice-constable and the Princess of Birkenfeld. Berthier's whole career was strange. He was born at Versailles in 1755, and joining the Royal army at an early age, served under Rochambeau in America. There, although of doubtful, or at all events recent nobility, and at a date when, before obtaining a commission, officers had to exhibit to M. Chérin so many quarterings, he obtained the rank of colonel. On his return to France he appears to have done duty in the National Guard in his native city, and to have been instrumental in saving the lives of the three maiden daughters of Louis XV. from the fury of the Jacobins. He next fought with distinction against the Royalists in La Vendée, and afterwards, on the express demand of Custine, joined the army of that gallant but ill-fated general. After the 9th Thermidor, and the conclusion of the Reign of Terror, he served on the staff of Kellermann, and in 1796 became chief of the staff to Bonaparte, who highly appreciated his topographical and other qualities. During the campaign in Italy he not only distinguished himself in the field, but by falling violently in love with Madame Visconti, and carrying her off

from her husband. When Napoleon was recalled to Paris, Berthier was left in command of the army of Italy, but after he had occupied Rome, established the Republic in that city, and sent the Pope's walking-stick as a trophy to the Directory, he was replaced by Massena. The fact was that Berthier, invaluable as a staff officer, had no talent for command, and Napoleon never entrusted him with an expedition. In the eyes of Napoleon one of Berthier's great qualities was that he never bothered him with his advice, and implicitly believed in him. He was a man of great faith. Madame Visconti had first of all married an Italian nobleman, of the name of Count Soprani, a general in the Prussian army; by him she had a son, who, thanks to Napoleon, was educated at a French military school, and then served on Berthier's staff. The Empress Josephine knew Madame Visconti at Milan before she deserted her second husband, and liked her much. So strong was the passion of Berthier for this lovely woman, that he could hardly tear himself from Paris to follow his beloved general to Egypt. However, having obtained a few days' respite, he set out with a heavy heart and joined the expeditionary corps at Toulon.

In Egypt the amorous soldier behaved in the most extravagant manner. He had a second tent pitched next to his own, in which he burned incense and knelt in adoration before the portrait of his idol. He loved Madame Visconti, in fact, as Nelson loved his 'tutelary deity,' Lady Hamilton. Much to the annoyance of Bonaparte, says Bourrienne in his memoirs, Berthier during the course of operations applied for leave, and the general, who could not see a man who

had served him with so much devotion die of home-sickness and a romantic passion, granted his request. However, on learning that the army was about to march upon Syria, Berthier nobly renounced his *congé*, and followed his chief through the remainder of the campaign. This attachment was destined to last with all its pristine vigour for many a long year.

When the Empire was founded Napoleon insisted on all the grand dignitaries of the crown marrying, but the faithful Berthier managed to elude this general order up to 1808. The Emperor, through a feeling of compassion, had not insisted, though he had more than once endeavoured to persuade Berthier to obtain a divorce and to marry Madame Visconti. On the one hand it is said to have been repugnant to the feelings of Berthier to marry a woman whose husband was still alive, and on the other, that the lovely Milanese, though not objecting to the lighter and less moral chain, was unwilling to consent to what she considered a *mésalliance*. A woman who bore the name of Visconti marry a Berthier, Prince of Neuchâtel!—had not Louis XII. attempted to establish his claims to the city of Milan as the grandson of Valentine Visconti? It is curious to note that the Bonapartes were of Florentine origin; that in 1332 a Giovanni Buonaparte was *podestà* of Florence, and that in 1404 his descendant and namesake was plenipotentiary to Gabriel, the son of Valentine Visconti. However this may be, poor Berthier discovered one day that his idol favoured two or three rivals, and in a fit of jealousy he rushed off to the Emperor and consented to marry. Napoleon told him that in the course of the day he would let him

know the wife he destined for him. The Duke William of Birkenfeld was then in Paris soliciting some compensation for territory taken from him. The Emperor sent for this prince, and abruptly said, 'I intend to marry your daughter to Berthier.' The prince, unaccustomed to such expeditious measures, fainted away. As for Napoleon, he summoned the Prefect of Police, who was ordered to warn Madame Visconti that if she interfered in the new arrangement she would be packed off to Cayenne. This seems to have been a wise precaution, as Berthier at once proceeded to fling himself at the feet of his mistress and to offer to forget everything. Madame Visconti, however, had too wholesome a dread of the Emperor to slight his orders. Berthier did what he could to avoid the dreaded union; he appealed to the Empress Josephine, and wept like a child, but he was only able to excite, together with no small amount of astonishment, her pity for his grief and her admiration for his constancy.

The marriage was duly celebrated in presence of the Emperor and Empress, and three months afterwards the unfortunate marshal learned the death of Madame Visconti's husband, upon which he wrote the following letter to Prince Borghese:

My dear Prince,—You know how often the Emperor pressed me to obtain a divorce for Madame Visconti, and to marry her. But a divorce was always repugnant to the feelings in which I was educated, and I therefore waited. To-day Madame Visconti is free, and I might have been the happiest of men. But the Emperor forced me into a marriage which hinders me from uniting myself to the only woman I was ever able to love. Ah! my dear prince, all that the

Emperor has done and may yet do for me, will never compensate for the eternal misfortune to which he has condemned me.

Now if Berthier rendered great services to Napoleon, his Majesty certainly requited them, though sometimes in an ungracious manner. For instance, when he was created Prince of Neuchâtel by the Senatus Consultum of 1806, he received the following letter from the Emperor, dated Malmaison, April 1:

I send you the 'Moniteur'; you see what I have done for you. I only impose one condition, that you get married. On this condition alone can you retain my friendship. Your passion has lasted long enough, and has become ridiculous. I have the right to hope that the person I have named 'my companion in arms,' and who will be placed beside me by posterity, will no longer abandon himself to a weakness without example. I therefore desire that you get married, or I shall never see you again. You are fifty years of age, but you belong to a race which live to eighty, and it is during these thirty years that the pleasures of marriage are most necessary to you.

However, as we have seen, it was only two years later that Berthier led his princess to the altar.

In order to permit him to keep up his titles of prince and vice-constable, Napoleon first of all, when Moreau was condemned to exile, purchased a part of that general's property and gave the lands of Gros Bois to Berthier, and he afterwards gave him the château of Chambord. In addition to this Berthier had about 60,000*l.* a year, and pickings which were considerable.

Berthier's wife, without being pretty, is said to have been extremely kind-hearted, and she seems to have

been affected by the woes of her husband to such an extent that she asked to see Madame Visconti. What is more curious is, that wife and mistress should have become fast friends, and that Madame Visconti should have resided with the Prince and Princess of Neuchâtel.

When Napoleon signed his abdication at Fontainebleau, we find him handing over the command of the army to Berthier, as he handed over the command of the army of Italy to him when recalled to France after that first Italian campaign which had stamped him as the greatest soldier of the age.

That Berthier should have deserted the cause of Napoleon, which meant war, continual war, was excusable; but it is deplorable to find the Prince of Neuchâtel and Wagram immediately accepting a peerage from Louis XVIII., and donning the uniform of that monarch. Savary, in his memoirs, goes so far as to declare that Berthier was engaged in a plot to assassinate Napoleon, and wished to play the part of Brutus. When a lieutenant of artillery Bonaparte once said he would willingly be stabbed like Cæsar could he acquire his glory; but Berthier, however anxious he may have been to enjoy his immense fortune in peace after so many years of war, was certainly not the man to indulge in political assassination. He was not an unprincipled swash-buckler like the Duc de Rovigo, and in addition to this he had a wholesome terror of his old master. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, we see Louis XVIII. leaving the Tuileries in his carriage, in which were seated the Duc de Duras, the Comte de Blacas, and Berthier!

The Prince of Neuchâtel thought it prudent to retire to Germany. It is related that Cæsar Berthier, who had also worn the white cockade, but who offered his services to Napoleon on his return, was very uneasy with regard to his reception in consequence of the conduct of his brother. However, Napoleon treated him with courtesy, and told him that the Prince of Wagram would have nothing to fear should he return to France. But Berthier never returned. Some say that on hearing the band of a Russian regiment which was on its march to Paris, he died of remorse, or committed suicide by flinging himself from his balcony. Others, that some persons disguised in masks pushed him over. The mystery has never been cleared up. At St. Helena Napoleon said that in the way of revenge he would have been perfectly satisfied could he have seen 'that jackass Berthier' attending Louis XVIII. It is certain, however, that Berthier's services were immensely missed during the Waterloo campaign, and that Soult very inadequately replaced him as chief of the staff. What finally became of the two widows who bewailed the loss of their prince we trow not, and only know that they resided for some time together in Paris after their mutual bereavement.

XVIII.

NAPOLEON III.

IT is strange to find Napoleon III., the third son of the unfortunate Louis and Hortense, eventually succeeding, after the fall of two other dynasties and a second Republic, to the Imperial purple. To his other brothers and sisters Napoleon in his will had left some slight legacies in token of his affection. Even to Lucien, who had been cut off from the succession, he left a pair of gold knee-buckles, an embroidered mantle, vest, and smallclothes, in recognition of his conduct during the Hundred Days; but to Louis he had merely bequeathed his pardon for the libel he wrote concerning him in 1820 in his 'Historical Documents concerning Holland.' Louis Napoleon, too, was far more of a Beauharnais than a Bonaparte. He was an undoubted Beauharnais. He had none of the imperious vivacity which marked the Corsican race, and what success he had in life, not due to the magic of his name, was owing to the patience and perseverance with which he pursued his chimeras. His mother always expressed confidence in the destiny of her 'sweetly obstinate' son, to whose education she devoted peculiar care.

The first public rumour of Louis Napoleon's marriage was circulated in 1835, and drew from him the

following letter, dated from Arenenberg, and addressed to the editor of a local newspaper:

Sir,—Several journals announce my departure for Portugal in the quality of pretender to the hand of the Queen Dona Maria. However much I may feel flattered at the idea of a union with a young, pretty, and virtuous sovereign, the widow of a cousin who was dear to me [Augustus Beauharnais], it is my duty to contradict the rumour. I may add that in spite of the interest which attaches me to a nation which has just acquired its liberty, I should certainly refuse to share the throne of Portugal if by any chance the offer were made me.

The noble conduct of my father, who abdicated in 1810 because he found it impossible to conciliate the interests of France with those of Holland, has never been eradicated from my mind. My father proved by a great example how preferable is one's native country to a foreign throne.

LOUIS NAPOLEON.

King Louis fled not because the interests of France were sacrificed to those of Holland, but because those of Holland were constantly sacrificed to France. He deserted a throne, which he never really filled, not as a Frenchman but as a Dutchman. However, if any overtures were made on the part of Da Gloria for an union with the nephew of the despot who had dealt so remorselessly with her country, they were politely declined. A few years later, an union was projected between Louis Napoleon and his cousin the Princess Mathilde; but this match was eventually broken off, in consequence, it was said at the time, of the prince having been condemned to imprisonment at Ham after the Boulogne affair. After his escape, and while he was residing in England, Louis Napoleon met a Miss Emily Rowles at Camden House, which her

step-father then owned, fell in love, and proposed wedlock. Everything was settled; the bride elect had received from the prince various presents, and among these furs and other objects which had belonged to Josephine. The match was broken off in consequence of the lady hearing of the liaison between Louis Napoleon and Madame Howard. Miss Rowles, who was a beautiful girl, afterwards married the Marquis of Campana, who, with other Italian noblemen, was implicated in the great *Monte di Pietà* fraud. For his share in this affair Campana was thrown into prison, but his wife having appealed to the French Emperor, and not in vain, to intercede with the Pope, his confinement was not of long duration. The unfortunate marchesa did not long survive this disgrace, but Campana himself only died the other day. It may be wondered if the memory of Emily Rowles influenced Napoleon III., after Sedan, in selecting Camden House as his residence.

So soon as the second Empire was recognised by the other sovereigns of Europe, its partisans urged the necessity of consolidating the dynasty by means of a marriage. The Grand Duchess of Baden, *née* Stephanie Louise Adrienne de Beauharnais, and aunt, by adoption, of Napoleon III., had three daughters: the eldest had espoused the Prince Wasa, son of Charles XIII. of Sweden, who afterwards became an Austrian general; the second, the Prince of Hohenzollern; the third, the Duke of Hamilton. M. Delacour, the French ambassador at Vienna, was charged to negotiate the marriage of Prince Wasa's daughter with the French Emperor. The prince declared he would do nothing without

the consent of the Austrian Government, and the Austrian Government, after the fate of Marie Antoinette and Marie Louise, were in no hurry to recommend another French alliance. Matters dragged on for some time, and just as M. Delacour thought that everything was arranged, it was found out that the Princess Wasa was affianced to the Prince Royal of Saxony. The first Emperor had prevented a princess of Saxony from marrying an Austrian archduke, thinking he might have to marry her himself; and now a prince of Saxony defeated the matrimonial schemes of the second Emperor. This was considered as a very serious check for French diplomacy, which endeavoured to make up for its mishap by arranging a marriage with a princess of Hohenzollern. But here again negotiations were unsuccessful; a prudent mother before concluding the match demanded to ask the advice of the Prussian Government, and the affair was dropped.

On January 22, 1853, Napoleon III. in a speech from the throne announced to the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Council of State, his resolution to marry. He said:

I comply with the wish so often expressed by the country in announcing my marriage. The union I am about to contract is not in accordance with tradition, and this is its great advantage. Past examples have rendered the public mind superstitious. It has not forgotten that during the last seventy years all the foreign princesses who have ascended the steps of the throne have seen their families dispersed and proscribed by revolution or war. A single woman appeared to bring good fortune and to live longer than the others in the hearts of the people, and this woman was the good and modest wife of General Bonaparte, who

was not of royal blood. . . . I come forward therefore, gentlemen, to say to France—I have preferred a woman I love and respect to a woman unknown to me, and whose alliance would have entailed sacrifices as well as advantages. . . . In placing independence, the qualities of the heart, and domestic felicity above dynastic prejudices and the calculations of ambition, I shall not be less strong and I shall be more free.

And thus did Napoleon III. reverse the whole matrimonial policy of Napoleon I., who had put away Josephine to marry a daughter of the Cæsars. It is true that Napoleon I. was a sovereign whose suit it was dangerous to disregard, and that Napoleon III., who was not backed up with the same material force as his uncle, had seen his advances already more than once thwarted. Another fact appears to have induced him to renounce a royal alliance. The Duke of Orleans, the eldest son of Louis Philippe, heir to the throne, endowed with great mental and physical advantages, was seven years searching through Europe for a wife, and then had to put up with a princess who, though accomplished, belonged to a secondary house, and was a Protestant.

The court had been much divided on this question. King Jerome, M. Troplong, President of the Senate, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Abattucci, Keeper of the Seals, and M. de Persigny, Minister of the Interior, being in favour of a dynastic alliance. On the other side were M. de Morny, M. Fould, and the military party—headed by General Fleury, Edgar Ney, and Lieutenant-Colonel Toulongeon—and it was *le clan des amoureux* which carried the day, in spite of violent family scenes and

the Princess Mathilde throwing herself at the feet of her cousin. The names of several French ladies of high family were mentioned as likely to ascend the throne, but the Emperor had already made his selection. A box at the opera was usually occupied by two ladies—the one of mature years, but with the remains of beauty ; the other young, fair, and lovely. They attracted so much attention that when they entered the house after the rise of the curtain, the performance was interrupted ; every glass was turned in the same direction, and the name of Eugénie de Montijo was on every lip ; and in fact the presence of Madame de Montijo and her daughter at the opera caused so much excitement that they ceased going there. At Compiègne and at Fontainebleau, while following the staghounds in a costume of the last century, she had been universally admired ; but it was for some time supposed, and this was probably the intention of Napoleon III. at first, that a morganatic marriage was all that was intended. This would certainly appear to be the case from an anecdote related by M. Granier de Cassagnac in his 'Recollections of the Second Empire.' He says that the Emperor one day asked Mdlle. de Montijo, who was at one of the windows of the Tuileries, what road he should take to reach her? The reply was, 'the right, by way of the chapel.' According to M. Taxile Delord, the announcement of this marriage gave rise to all kinds of rumours, and among others that of the adoption of the son of Jerome, 'which sent down the funds.' It was also stated that Jerome's son, Prince Napoleon, was to be married to the granddaughter of Berthier, Prince of Wagram.

Gentlemen skilled in heraldry spoke in glowing terms of her noble descent. The long and illustrious series of her ancestors was to be found in the pages of St. Simon, dating back from the old kings of Leon, Asturias, and Gallicia, and comprising Tellez-Giron, and the Dukes of Escalona and Ossuna, the latter celebrated in the 'Hernani' of Victor Hugo. She was four times a grandee of the first class. Her mother was Duchess of Pegnaranda, and also possessed the titles of Teba, of Banos, and of Mora, and according to the customs of Spain had a right, owing to the alliances of her family, to bear the illustrious names of Guzman, of Fernandez de Cordova, of Lacerda, and of Leyra. Other writers mentioned the interesting fact of Madame de Montijo being the daughter of one of the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland for espousing the part of the Pretender. The Kirkpatricks in fact took the same side as the parents of that William Stuart who was the first to create an impression on the sensitive heart of Josephine at Martinique. It was also related that her father, the Comte de Montijo, Duke of Pegnaranda, had served as a colonel of artillery in the ranks of the French army; that he had fought for Napoleon I. in Spain and in France, and that the last gun he fired was in the defence of Paris in 1814. Very touching stories were told of the devotion of the Montijo family to the Bonapartes; how Mdlle. Eugénie de Montijo, when Prince Louis Napoleon was a prisoner at Ham, desired to pay the captive a visit, and how in 1850, when the Chambers refused to augment the civil list of the Prince President, and thus drove him and his impecunious

associates to accomplish the *coup d'état*, the Montijos placed their fortune at his disposal.

There was, however, a less brilliant side to this picture, which impartiality obliges us to mention. At the period of the marriage some of the opposition papers republished a decision of the Court of Valladolid, which is to be found in the 'Gazette des Tribunaux' of September 28, 1831, or at least in the copy preserved in the National Library. The other journals which published this case, both those of 1831 and those of 1853, were seized by the Government, and the record as far as the public was concerned disappeared. This is what one finds in the 'Gazette des Tribunaux,' under the head of Spain:

ROYAL CHANCELLERY OF VALLADOLID.

Nullity of a Divorce pronounced in France in 1813.

Don Joachim de Montijo was a captain in the provincial regiment of Segovia in 1810, when he married Dona Maria del Pilar de Penansande, belonging to a well-to-do and honourable family of Fuentepelayo, near Segovia.

Made a prisoner of war at Ciudad Rodrigo a few months after his marriage, he was taken to France, where he was joined by his wife *when she heard he was well treated*, that he had been appointed commandant of a depôt of Spanish prisoners, and in that capacity enjoyed pay nearly equal to that he had drawn in Spain. In taking this step she merely yielded to the reiterated demands of her husband. The good understanding did not last long between the pair. Both, it appears, were guilty of serious matrimonial delinquencies which troubled the harmony of the household, upset the domestic economy, gave rise to debts, and induced the pair to live apart.

Don Joachim de Montijo, reduced to extremity and

deprived of the employment he enjoyed as a Spaniard in consequence of half the prisoners being transferred to the depôts of Bourges, Dijon, and Carcassonne, *took service in the French army.* He was hardly installed in his new position when his wife rejoined him. He declined to receive her, and at the end of a few months their divorce was pronounced, in November 1813.

As soon as King Ferdinand re-entered Spain, Dona Pilar returned to her family at Fuentepelayo, with her son, who was two years and a half old, and there she remained in peace and tranquillity for six years. Don Joachim de Montijo had remained in France as a major on half pay. When the King of Spain swore, in 1820, to observe the constitution of 1812 voted by the *cortes*, Don Joachim then left France and returned to Spain, to join the new government, and he settled himself near Arevallo, his native town, close to which he had some property. It was from that place that he wrote to his wife to send him his son. Dona Pilar refused to comply, but said he might come and see his son if he liked. Don Joachim decided upon paying the visit, during which his intention was to carry off his son; but Dona Pilar would not consent. Several weeks passed before Don Joachim returned, but his second visit was less stormy than the first, and he ended by falling in love once more with his wife, and after several visits it was agreed that the divorce should be kept secret, and that they should re-unite. This divorce was known in Spain only to the family of Penansande and the two brothers of Joachim. Madame de Montijo therefore left Fuentepelayo and her family, and went with her son to reside at Arevallo, in the house of her husband, in July 1820. This reunion was productive of a few years of happiness which death alone interrupted. Don Joachim was thrown from horseback in August 1823, and died three months afterwards. His son Don Augustin de Montijo inherited his property, under the tutelage of his mother, who continued to reside at Arevallo. We say, his son, because his daughter, who was only nine months old,

died shortly after her father's decease. This was not destined to be the last sorrow of Dona Pilar, for she had the grief last September to lose her only son, whom she adored, whom she had never left for an instant, and who, enjoying a robust constitution, was carried off by the smallpox at the age of fifteen.

The sorrow of Dona Pilar was, if possible, augmented by the conduct of her brothers-in-law, Don Antonio and Don Branlio de Montijo, who called upon her to leave her husband's house, as she could not assume the quality of the widow de Montijo as she had had the infamy to obtain a divorce. They therefore maintained that she had no right to enjoy either the property itself or the revenues. Dona Pilar, advised by a lawyer of Segovia, refused to leave the house and give up the property. The affair was brought before the court of the corregidor of Arevallo, Don Joachim Bencito, and after a careful sifting of evidence and a minute examination of witnesses, the corregidor declared, on January 16, 1827, that seeing the divorce was pronounced in France in 1813, and in spite of posterior cohabitation, the property ought to be restored to the brothers of the late Don Joachim de Montijo, his legitimate heirs, in default of any direct heirs.

Dona Pilar de Penansande, widow Montijo, appealed against this decision to the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid. There the proceedings commenced afresh. Dona Pilar, Don Antonio, and Don Branlio de Montijo were summoned to Valladolid, as well as a sister of the widow Montijo, and divers persons of Arevallo. The extracts of the parish register of San Francisco de Fuentepelayo were examined by the fiscal authority, and after a delay of nine months this magistrate gave his advice on the affair. In consequence, and after having heard counsel on both sides, on March 4, 1828, the Royal Chancellor pronounced judgment as follows:

Considering that Dona Maria del Pilar de Penansande was united in February 1810 to the late Don Joachim de Montijo as his legitimate spouse, as is shown by the register of the parish of San Francisco de Fuentepelayo :

That the divorce upon which Don Antonio and Don Branlio de Montijo found their claim is contrary to divine as well as to Spanish laws, was pronounced in a foreign country then submitted to the yoke of an usurper, a government not less irreligious than illegitimate, and is consequently null in Spain :

"Considering, too, that the said divorce was annulled by the remorse of husband and wife, who were reunited and passed the last three years of the life of Don Joachim together :

That this latter made no will because he left two children, and considered such an act unnecessary with regard to his wife :

That it is meet to interpret the intentions of the deceased in the sense of his conduct during the last years of his life :

Orders that the revenues of all the real estate left by Don Joachim de Montijo shall belong to his widow during her life, and on her death shall return to the family of her husband.

Condemns Don Antonio and Don Branlio de Montijo to pay the expenses of these proceedings.

It will be seen from the above that Don Joachim was a bit of a traitor and sold his country for a mess of pottage, and also that there is no mention of Eugénie de Montijo, who is generally supposed to have been born in 1826. Must one surmise that like the first Empress she made herself out younger than she really was, or is an explanation to be sought elsewhere? The activity of the Imperial police in suppressing all trace of the proceedings at Valladolid is certainly not to be wondered at.

When the marriage was announced, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who had expressed himself in favour of a dynastic alliance and who had not been taken into

the confidence of the Emperor, tendered his resignation as Minister of Foreign Affairs, but this resignation was withdrawn on the demand of his Majesty, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys went to pay his respects to the future Empress. On receiving him

Mdlle. de Montijo said.—I congratulate and thank you for the advice you gave the Emperor on the subject of his marriage. That advice was also mine.

The Foreign Minister.—The Emperor has, then, betrayed me?

Mdlle. de Montijo.—No, it is not betraying you to render homage to your sincerity and to make me acquainted with the opinion of a faithful servant who expressed my own feelings. Like you, I represented to the Emperor what I considered the interest of his throne; it is not for me to be his judge, and to decide whether he was right or wrong to believe that interest reconcilable with the dictates of his affection.

The marriage to all appearance was highly popular in France; it was considered, like other marriages, as the harbinger of peace. The city of Paris voted 600,000 francs in honour of the occasion, and the public festivities were general through the country. The civil marriage was performed at the Tuileries on January 29, 1853. At eight o'clock in the evening, the grand master of the ceremonies went with two state carriages to seek the bride elect at the Elysée. The *cortège* entered the Tuileries by the Flora pavilion, and Mdlle. de Montijo was received by the Emperor in what was called the family saloon. The ceremony was performed by M. Fould, who was state minister. He said to the Emperor—'Sire, your Majesty does here declare that you take in marriage her

Excellency Mdlle. de Montijo, here present?' To which the Emperor replied—'I declare that I take in marriage her Excellency Mdlle. de Montijo, Comtesse de Teba, here present.'

Similar questions having been put to the bride and satisfactorily answered, the Minister of State said: 'In the name of the Emperor, the Constitution, and the Law, I declare his Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French by the grace of God and the national will, and her Excellency Mdlle. de Montijo, Comtesse de Teba, united in marriage.' The marriage was duly entered in the register of the Imperial household preserved in the office of the Secretary of State. The first page of this register contained the adoption of Prince Eugène as son of Napoleon I., March 2, 1806; and the last entry (in 1853) recorded the birth of the King of Rome, March 20, 1811.

The religious ceremony was celebrated on January 30, at Notre-Dame. At noon the guns of the Invalides announced the arrival of the Empress at the Tuileries, where she was received by Prince Napoleon and the Princess Mathilde at the foot of the grand staircase. She was dressed in white silk covered with lace, with a diadem and a girdle of diamonds, and from the diadem fell a long veil of *point d'Angleterre*, surmounted with orange blossoms. Napoleon III. was in the uniform of a general, and wore the collar of the Legion of Honour worn by Napoleon I. at his coronation, and the collar of the Golden Fleece which had been formerly worn by Charles V. The carriages were the same as those used at the marriage of Napoleon I. and Marie Louise, and the ceremonials were similar. After the religious service, the Empress

rose, and after the Spanish fashion, made the sign of the cross with her thumb on her forehead, her lips, and her heart. The witnesses of the marriage belonging to the Imperial family were King Jerome, Prince Napoleon, the Princess Mathilde, Prince Lucien, Prince Pierre, Eliza Bacciochi Comtesse de Camerata, and Prince Lucien Murat. The Duke of Brunswick was present, and with his diamonds added to the splendour of a very gorgeous scene.

The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and many cantatas were sung in honour of the Imperial couple. The hills of the Tagus and the Guadalquivir were dragged into the following verses, sung at the Opera :

Pour notre Impératrice aux doux climats choisie
Chantez, avec des voix qui savent nous ravir,
Les airs que redira l'écho d'Andalousie
Aux collines du Tage et du Guadalquivir.
Espagne bien aimée,
Où le ciel est vermeil,
C'est toi qui l'as formée
D'un rayon de soleil.

It was for some time feared that the Empress would give no heir to the throne ; but she was more fortunate than Josephine in that respect, and in 1856 a son was born, to the great delight of the nation at large, which saw in this event a pledge for the security and consolidation of the Empire. The rejoicing was almost universal. According to Théophile Gautier, the Vendôme column trembled with delight. On its monumental bronze, he wrote :

Les aigles du socle s'agitent,
Essayant de prendre leur vol,
Et leurs ailes d'airain palpitent,
Comme au jour de Sébastopol.

Mais ce n'est pas une victoire
Que chantent cloches et canons :
Sur l'arc de triomphe, l'histoire
Ne sait plus où graver les noms.

C'est un Jésus à tête blonde
Qui porte en sa petite main,
Pour globe bleu, la paix du monde
Et le bonheur du genre humain.

Alas, this hope of the nation was not destined to reign in France; this promising and unfortunate prince, educated at Woolwich, met his death among British troops, in a colony which England had wrested from his grandfather when he was King of Holland. Such is fate!

Before his marriage, Napoleon III. had a favourite, Mrs. Howard, to whom he had been much attached when in London, and who is said to have materially aided her lover when he first ventured to Paris with few friends and scanty means. She had a son who received the title of count—the Comte Béchevet, and when the liaison terminated, she received an Imperial pension and the magnificent château of Beauregard, near Paris. The court remained free from scandal for a good many years, until Marguerite Bellanger captivated his Majesty in the Bois de Boulogne by offering him her cloak when he was caught in a shower of rain. Hence a display of jealousy, and a sudden visit to Scotland on the part of the offended Empress; but a venerable bishop was appealed to, and he soon managed to bring back the truant sovereign and to restore peace in the Imperial household.

This affair, be it observed, assumed an official

character after the fall of the Empire in consequence of some papers having been discovered in the Tuileries, which showed that there had been an intrigue, and an attempt to pass off an illegitimate child on his Majesty. The 'papers' revealed the fact that M. Devienne had played a certain part in this affair, and the Government of National Defence directed that he should be cited before the Court of Cassation for having compromised the dignity of the ermine in negotiations of a scandalous nature. The court absolved its ex-president on the ground that he had only interfered on the demand of the parties interested in order to prevent a scandal, a fact which was rendered sufficiently plain in a letter which the Empress Eugénie addressed to the tribunal.

It would be ungenerous in closing this brief notice of the last Imperial marriage, not to pay a tribute of respect to an Empress who has sought an asylum among us, and whose conduct as wife and as mother is entitled to so much admiration and sympathy. Her fair fame was never sullied by even a breath of suspicion. Even those unscrupulous and unmanly enemies who, during the reign of the Commune, lampooned the Empire, could only attack the political conduct of the Empress Eugénie, and accuse her of clericalism, and of having forced on the Franco-German war in the interest of her son. In one sense she resembled Josephine. She aided Napoleon III. in disarming the Faubourg St. Germain, not so much through her relations with the ancient *noblesse* as through her relations with the spiritual powers. The Church has always been the mainstay of the Legitimist party, and the Church had in the Empress

Eugénie one of her most fervent friends. Now and then the papal court had to complain of the acts of the Emperor, and the French bishops were goaded into comparing him to Pontius Pilate; but the Empress was always ready to smooth matters down and to effect a reconciliation between the spiritual and temporal powers. It was difficult for the Legitimists, however they might stand aloof from the Imperial court, and sulk in their Faubourg or their châteaux, to show open hostility towards a Government which maintained the rights of the Church, and towards a sovereign whose son was the godchild of the Pope.

Napoleon I. recklessly gambled away the throne of the heir he had so longed to obtain, in the hope of founding a direct line of Emperors; and Napoleon III. to some extent imitated the example of his uncle. At least the Franco-German War was a dynastic war which was to ensure the throne for the Prince Imperial, just as the fatal march to Sedan, as Napoleon III. himself explained to Field Marshal Burgoyne, was a dynastic march.

XIX.

COUNT LEON.

NUMEROUS as were the liaisons of Napoleon, he appears to have had only two illegitimate children, who were afterwards known as Comte Leon and Comte Walewski. It is asserted, as we have said, that if Madame Foures had borne him a son in Egypt, he would at once have put away Josephine and married her. Madame Foures, however, remained childless; but the idea of marrying Mdlle. Denuelle or the Comtesse Walewska never appears to have entered his head. It is true that when he was in Egypt he was only a general, contemplated the possibility of never returning to France, and was very wroth with his spouse.

The story of Comte Leon is a romance in itself. It appears that a certain Captain Revel, who had retired from active service to become an army contractor, went to the theatre one evening, where he chanced to meet a Mdlle. Denuelle de la Plaigne, with whom he fell in love at first sight. He succeeded without much difficulty in captivating, not only the fair Elenore herself, but also her father and mother, who appear to have been in very straitened circumstances. The gallant captain had been left a widower in 1803, and stood in need of a helpmate. Undis-

mayed by the fact that Mdlle. Denuelle had no dowry, and that it would be necessary to provide for her father and mother, he pressed his suit with military ardour, and in due time was joined in holy matrimony to the lovely Elenore, who, like many other ladies mentioned in these pages, had been educated at the celebrated establishment of Madame Campan. Mdlle. Stephanie de Beauharnais and Mdlle. Tascher both signed the marriage contract. The captain at first was enchanted with his bride, and in compliance with her earnest request, took a house at St. Germain, so that she might be near her old schoolmistress. The captain soon remarked that Madame Revel was a very frequent visitor at Madame Campan's, usually returning home much flushed and agitated; but as she shortly afterwards asked him to return to the capital, he thought no more of the matter. However the newly married pair had hardly settled once more in Paris, when the captain was arrested and thrown into prison, being deprived of all his property, including a large sum of ready money. He was accused of having been engaged in a fraudulent transaction; but the charge was evidently trumped up, his only crime being that, like Uriah, he was the husband of a pretty woman. It was necessary to get him out of the way, and he was committed to gaol without the slightest examination. He was kept in solitary confinement, but had not been long in 'durance vile,' when he was offered his freedom on the condition of consenting to demand a divorce which would secure him 'illustrious protection.' The captain refused to yield, and after having been kept for some time in Paris was transferred to Versailles, where he remained for several

months without undergoing any form of trial. At Versailles he was most harshly treated, and for some reason unexplained, his mother-in-law insisted that he should have nothing better than the common prison fare. Finding further resistance useless, the captain finally capitulated, confessed his guilt, demanded a divorce, and was released from prison; but he was obliged to leave France. As the captain mournfully observed in a pamphlet written under the Restoration, the result of his hasty marriage was that he was divorced by force, that he suffered ten years of prison and exile, and that he was separated even from the children of his first wife. There can be little doubt that Joachim and Caroline Murat, who were always on the watch to satisfy the caprices of the Emperor, were the prime movers in this liaison, which was favoured by the amiable Madame Campan.

For a time Napoleon was exceedingly smitten with his new conquest, and he took a house for Madame Revel, or rather for Madame St. Laurent as she then styled herself, in that rue de la Victoire (*ci-devant* rue Chantereine) where he had passed his brief honeymoon with Josephine. We are assured that had Madame St. Laurent been possessed of ambition, she might have become a Pompadour or a Dubarry; but she was satisfied with fine dresses and equipages, and a moderate amount of gold. She had neither heart nor wit, and it was afterwards discovered in a rather curious way, that it was her mother who conducted her correspondence with Napoleon. In due time a son was born, and was christened not Napoleon but merely Leon. His Majesty, who at this moment was willing to concede all the demands or

his mistress, went so far as to confine Madame Denuelle for a short time in the Magdelonettes, and it was on this occasion that Elenore confessed with tears that her love-letters had been written by her mother.

This liaison was abruptly broken off in the usual Imperial manner, and when Madame St. Laurent and her mother some time afterwards ventured to Fontainebleau, they were ordered to depart at once and never to present themselves at court again without permission. Constant, however, asserts that the Emperor, if he thus treated the mother, was very fond of his son, often used to play with him, and overwhelmed him with presents; that he treated Leon in fact as Charles II. treated the little James Crofts, the son of Lucy Walters, better known in history as the Duke of Monmouth. Leon was committed at first to the care of M. de Manvières, the father-in-law of Baron Meneval, the Emperor's favourite private secretary, and was afterwards confided to Madame Mère.

Captain Revel on leaving France took refuge at Hamburg, where he was captured by the Russians. On the fall of the Empire he returned to Paris, and appealed to the Tribunal of the Seine against the legitimacy of Comte Leon, who was legally his son. The statement made before the court was to the following effect:—On January 13, 1805, Captain Revel married Louise Catherine Elenore Denuelle. The wedding took place at Madame Campan's school at St. Germain-en-Laye. On the seventy-second day of his marriage the captain was thrown into prison, and his wife, under the name of Madame St. Laurent, became the mistress of Napoleon Bonaparte. On

April 29, 1806, on the demand of Madame Revel, a divorce was pronounced, and on December 13, at 29 rue de la Victoire, Madame St. Laurent was brought to bed of a son who was named Leon, and inscribed in the register as the child of Mdlle. Denuelle and a father absent. Two months after his birth he was taken away from his mother, richly provided for, and placed under the care of a tutor.

The report of the proceedings in this case is headed, 'Disavowal of the paternity of Leon, natural son of Napoleon Bonaparte.' The court granted the request of the plaintiff; and in a pamphlet which the captain published about the same time, he described Murat and Bonaparte as the ravishers of his wife. He related that on the fall of Napoleon he had immediately returned to Paris in quest of the woman he had married in 1805, and then learned for the first time the birth of Leon; also that his faithless spouse had been thrice married since their separation: first, to a M. Augier, a lieutenant of the line; then to a General de la Saussaye; and, finally, to a German baron of the name of Luxbourg. Here we lose sight of the much-wronged captain, who does not appear to have instituted proceedings in order to recover a wife from whom he had been violently and illegally divorced. Perhaps the difficulties in the way of annulling three intervening marriages appalled him.

As for Comte Leon, he must have been very indifferently brought up by M. de Manvières and Madame Mère, or his natural instincts must have been exceedingly bad. Fortunately for the world they were only exercised on a small and not a large scale. He resembled his father morally in many

respects, and physically to a remarkable degree. Little or nothing was heard of him during the Restoration; but according to his own account, when Louis Philippe obtained the crown his Majesty offered him a position under the Government, which was declined with thanks. This is an improbable story. It seems, however, that both Madame de Luxbourg and Leon entertained the idea that the French people might one day offer Leon the Imperial crown, and hence his rejection of the advances made by the younger branch of the Bourbons. Leon settled at St. Denis, and in 1831 was mixed up in a discreditable gaming transaction, which ended in a duel in which he killed M. Hesse, who had accused him of refusing to pay money lost at cards. Baron de Rosenburg also challenged the count, who, however, refused a second meeting, and appealed for protection to the Prefect of Police.

In 1834 Comte Leon got into trouble of another description as commandant of the National Guard of St. Denis, with Lieutenant-Colonel Benoist, of the same force; trouble arising out of a review he had ordered without the sanction of his superior officer. In a pamphlet on this affair, the count blamed M. de Lafayette for having placed Louis Philippe on the throne without having consulted the nation. He declared no sovereign legitimate who had not been elected, and bewailed the sudden death of Napoleon II., which had removed a 'dangerous eventuality' from the path of the French king. He also published a letter he had received from the mayor of St. Denis, in which that worthy functionary declared that the inhabitants of the suburb in question would never forget

the review of November 3, and 'would count the day upon which the son of the great Napoleon came to live among them as the proudest in their existence.' The officers of his battalion also congratulated their commandant, saying, 'We know the source whence you have drawn the blood which runs in your veins. We love to find in your face those well-known features which many of us, old soldiers of the *grande armée*, contemplated more than once on the field of battle. Son of Napoleon, you will accomplish your destinies; your duties are traced in the life of the hero who did such great things for the nation, and whose power was extended by his genius. You will uphold your noble origin, and should France one day require you,' &c. &c.

However, little more was heard of Comte Leon except in the cafés of Paris, and among Bohemians, until the downfall of the Constitutional Monarchy. In 1848, thinking he had some right to the Imperial crown, or to the chief magistracy, he presented himself to the electors of St. Denis, and issued the following address:

To the Citizens of the Ward of St. Denis.

The French people are the first people in the world. They have just proved this by overthrowing an oligarchical Government covered with shame. The Republic has been proclaimed; it has for sacred principles *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*! . . . To-day, citizens, I demand the honour of representing you in the Constituent Assembly. I would never accept anything from the fallen Government whose corruption aroused my indignation. You formerly honoured me with your confidence by naming me commandant of the National Guards of St. Denis. In that eminent post I had to

struggle against servility. . . . Times are changed and masks have been torn off. . . . A child of Paris, my birth is known to you ; it is glorious. . . . Never will you find me voting the re-establishment of any dynasty in France.

Signed—LEON,

Fils naturel de l'Empereur Napoléon.

Comte Leon was not returned for St. Denis, and little more was heard of him by the public. On July 5, 1861, he addressed the following letter to M. Delangle, the Minister of Justice, in which he gave a sketch of his career :

The high position which your Excellency enjoys persuades me you will receive this letter kindly, seeing the exceptional gravity of my situation and the motives which induce me to write it.

Your Excellency is probably aware that Madame Mère [Lætitia Bonaparte] my grandmother, and his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, my great-uncle, left me the sum of 500,000 francs by a secret will on the condition of my taking holy orders.

In 1838 I made the acquaintance of M. Coëssin, the founder of *Les enfants de Dieu.* Just after I had lost the fortune settled upon me by Napoleon I., my father [30,000 francs a year] M. Coëssin perceived that I was unsuited for the priesthood, and persuaded me to consecrate myself to the work he had founded.

On May 5, 1855, on the anniversary of the death of Napoleon, his name cropped up once more. On the date in question, the 'Moniteur' announced that the will of the late Emperor was to receive its full execution, and the count was down in that will, as the ward of Baron Meneval, for 255,319 francs. The count at first supposed that this sum would be handed over to him ; but Napoleon III. in his wisdom de-

cided that he should only receive the interest of that amount, and that on his death the capital should revert to Comte Colonna Walewski, the other natural son of the first Emperor, at that moment Minister of Foreign Affairs, and whose name, strange to say, is not to be found in his father's will.

The count then quoted a letter written to him by Baron Meneval in 1839, in which the ex-secretary of Napoleon alluded to the recommendation made by the Emperor at St. Helena, that his executors should look after the interests of Comte Leon. He then related how the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Guélen, had written on his behalf to Gregory XVI. and to Cardinal Fesch, and how, the cardinal having died, the archbishop advised him to go to London and claim the 500,000 francs from the Comte de Survilliers (Joseph Bonaparte). When in .don, the count said, he was basely calumniated by a Bonapartist paper, called the 'Capitole,' and this led to a duel between him and Louis Napoleon. In the midst of his trials, he was much consoled by a letter from M. Coëssin, in which that devout individual said among other things: 'I should much like to know which of your uncles, your grand-uncles, aunts, or even grandmother, would dare to throw the first stone at you in consequence of the faults of your youth?' The count went on to relate that when he left London, Prince Lucien, who alone of the family had treated him with kindness, gave him the following letter:

London: March 1840.

My dear Cousin,—I give these few lines to my nephew Comte Leon, in order to procure him the advantage of

making the acquaintance of a person who is dear to us, &c.

PRINCE DE CANINO.

We then gather that an action brought against the 'Capitole' ended in the editor being fined 1,000 francs, and condemned to pay 5,000 francs damages; that on the death of M. Coëssin, the count, being totally destitute, brought an action against his mother the Comtesse de Luxbourg, who was condemned to pay him 3,000 francs a year; that he took various steps to effect a reconciliation with Prince Louis Napoleon and the Bonaparte family; that when he stood for St. Denis in 1848, he wrote a long letter to the prince expressing his regret on the subject of the duel, but that this letter remained unanswered; that M. Coëssin assured him that if he had been consulted with regard to the duel, he should certainly have recommended it; that in 1850 he congratulated the prince on his election as President of the Republic, and asked for an interview, which was declined; that in 1851, consulted by the inhabitants of St. Denis, he recommended the electors to vote for the Empire; that in 1852, desiring to visit Rome, he demanded funds, and was asked to furnish M. Mocquard with a statement; that he claimed 935,407 francs 55 cents, and heard no more of the matter. The count then gave the copy of letters he had written to various persons, in the hope of obtaining an audience with the Emperor; letters to the Duc de Bassano, to Marshal St. Arnaud, and to M. Magne. He implored Prince Napoleon to advance him 10,000 francs, and was naturally refused; a like demand made on the

purse of the Duc de Morny met with a similar fate. He wrote to the Comte d'Ornano, announcing that he had married the mother of his children ; he addressed several letters to his brother, Comte Walewski, who hardly deigned to notice them ; and an appeal made to the Empress met with no attention. During an interview with his mother, she informed him that she had been received by her Majesty, who said the Emperor could never forget the fact of Comte Leon having gone to London to kill him. The count declared this was not the case, and that he had gone to London for the 500,000 francs left by Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch, and to look after a commercial speculation, and in no way for the purpose of molesting Prince Louis. In terminating his long petition to M. Delangle, the count expressed the most unbounded love and admiration for the person and sublime policy of Napoleon III., most emphatically declared that he had been basely calumniated, and that if he met with no redress, he should appeal to the Church and the powers above—which up to that time had not been very propitious.

The Baroness de Luxbourg lived to a very advanced age, and in fact died in a house of the Chaussée d'Antin in Paris, only at the close of the second Empire. She retained her faculties to the last, and often spoke of Napoleon in no very complimentary manner ; she had never loved him, and had been treated, she used to say, with great brutality. As for Comte Leon, he appears to have received a trifling pension, which naturally expired on the fall of the Second Empire, and to have died at Pontoise, April 14, 1881, unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.

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